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KANSAS

THE LAND OF POPULISM AND ANTI-STANDARD OIL A RADICAL PLACE.

Inhabitants Hate Conservatism and Are Ready to Foment Upon Any New Movement That Comes Along—How Socialism Fits Within Its Borders, As Seen by Organizer DeLoe.

(Special Correspondence.)

Pittsburg, Cal., March 2.—The average resident of an Eastern city pictures Kansas as a huge block of quarter-sections, where long whiskered Populists plant long rows of sun-flowers and curse the railroads and "standard oil." To such, a perusal of Kansas proletarian statistics will cause surprise. The State has forty cities and towns with proletarian population. Of these eight have from 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.

It is true that the Populist Party, which controlled Kansas in 1893-4 represented the agricultural interests. But it was more than this. It advocated queer social and political reforms, in Kansas. In no state has so much been said about prohibition, sumptuary laws and anti-divorce schemes. Perhaps more plans for saving the country have been made here than in all other states combined. The values of these schemes is suggested by the results of one which has obtained legal sanction. No liquor can legally be manufactured or sold within the state. But Pittsburg, with 16,000 inhabitants, has eighty-one wide open saloons; the proprietors pay exorbitant fines quite as willingly as high taxes.

This much, however, is true. Kansas is lying in wait for any new movement, ready to pounce upon it and make it their own. No one can justly accuse them of being political moon-shiners. Settled originally by fighting abolitionists of the John Brown type, the people here have handed down to them a hatred for conservatism. So the state is easy prey for Christian Scientists, Appeal to Reasoners, Dorrists, proselyters, "good government" agitators, medicine-vendors, shouting Methodists, and last but not least, Populist Socialists. The same individual in the course of half a dozen years, experiences the varied emotions of the above named heresies. Just now it is "Socialism." I pulled down my hat-rim, tightened my belt, and entered the State from the East.

The heterogeneous population of the Missouri-Kansas coal fields I found to be much the same in character as in the coal regions of Ohio and Illinois. I had just spoken at a meeting of the Pittsburg Trades Council and was delighted at their general acceptance of the principles of the New Trades Unionism. Kansas, I thought, is O. K. I was about to make the long jump to Denver, when I noticed in "Social Ethics," the official organ of the Kansas "Socialist" party, the following observations:

"Members should know, what few, perhaps, realize, that there is on foot a tireless, sleepless, Jesuitical attempt to De Loosize the Socialist Party."

His own party having almost disappeared, De Loos is casting longing glances toward the Socialist Party. His conduct at the International Socialist Convention and the altered tone of his paper shows this.

A former E. L. P. representative has gravely predicted that De Loos will infallibly capture and control the Socialist Party.

In his paper—the clandestine sheet through which Local Kansas City has revived the Socialist National Platform, and through which members and friends of Local Kansas City have belabored Kansas state officers—the evil genius of the Socialist movement in the West is declaring that the Socialist Party must be reorganized or those in sympathy with his views must join the Socialist Labor Party.

Are such men other than De Loosites? Do you know what De Loosites are? If not, read on.

His spirit is of the pit. Its influence upon the Socialist movement rivals that of the deadly Opus tres upon vegetation. The poison of asps is under its tongue. Its presence is a pestilence.

The hope of the world is the Socialist movement. The Socialist party is its exponent.

The Socialist Party movement in Kansas is one of the most promising in the Union. Look at the vote. To De Loosites it would be to destroy it, to bury it beneath the earth.

(Continued on page 3)

A Mission of Unionism

NOT THE LEAST

The discussion, now going on upon the Trades Union, is bringing to the surface one point after another of vital importance to the Socialist Movement. The revelation of these various points is turning the light upon two facts of deep interest—first, that the Trades Union is the point upon which the Socialist Movement must revolve, and secondly, that the "pure and simple" style of Unionism has wandered into the wilderness, far away from its real mission. While almost all the points that are coming to the surface, whether they proceed from friendly or unfriendly sources, tend to prove the latter fact, there is one not yet touched upon that illustrates stronger than any the degeneration of "pure and simple" Unionism, and that at the same time has the merit of aiding in the understanding of events that are casting their shadows before them.

A mission of the Trades Union is to drill the membership of the Working Class in the habit of self-imposed discipline. The mission of capitalism, the Socialist knows, is to organize the mechanism of production that wealth can be so abundantly produced as to free mankind from want and the fear of want, from the brute's necessity of a life of arduous toil in the production of the brute's mere necessities of life. Socialist philosophy has made this clear. American conditions, however, the conditions possible only on an area of vast dimensions and where capitalism has been able to develop untrammelled and reach its highest economic and political expression—American conditions, accordingly, have revealed a subsidiary mission of capitalism, to wit, the mission of KEEPING ORDER, the while a revolutionary class, the Working Class, is gathering the needed qualities for itself to assume control. This mission of capitalism is one that all previous ruling classes have also had to fulfill towards the class below. With capitalism, however, the mission assumes infinitely graver importance. The Working Class, a property-less class, and in this respect unique in the succession of revolutionary classes, lacks an element that is a drilling force in itself—property. The defect must be substituted from another source. Thorough education in its own class-interests is valuable, is indispensable, but it is not all-sufficient. The habit of self-enforced discipline is an essential accompaniment to class-consciousness. The latter, without the former, leads to magnificent but fruitless displays of heroism—vide the Paris Commune; the former, without the latter, leads down to the plane of mercenary bands—vide the cohorts of Imperial Rome of old. Combined, however, the two will blast the rule of capitalism, and smite the shackles off the limbs of Labor, and rear the Socialist Republic. That "pure and simple" neglects the drilling in class-consciousness, eye, prevents it, has been amply shown. "Pure and simple" Unionism, however, also interferes with and undermines the habit of self-imposed discipline.

As that division of the Labor or Socialist Movement that will have to give the final and decisive blow to capitalist rule, the Trades Union must necessarily illustrate in its make-up the fullest development of all that is implied in that product of civilized man known as "Organization"—UNTTY. In the vocabulary of the bona fide Trades Union, "anarchy" is a term of derision. "Autonomy," "bureaucracy," "fusion" buffoonery, "woodiness" a mockery, "tolerance" a trick, and despotism an impossibility. As that division of the Labor or Socialist Movement in which none belongs but the wage-slave, the facilities enjoyed by the Trades Union as an Academy for drilling its membership in the two essentials for the emancipation of their class—discipline and class-consciousness—are matchless. "Pure and simple" prevents the latter and lets slip the opportunity for the former. Being partly an organization built by the grace of the employer, often entirely so, the "pure and simple" Union is essentially a compulsory affair. From this circumstance a number of others flow. The most important one of all for the subject under consideration is that the membership in innumerable instances are held to the Union only by the bond of "paying dues." This being about all that demanded of them, they either

put in an appearance at the meetings only to pay the blackmail and then go away again, or they never come; they are spared even that trouble; an officer goes around where they work and collects the money. As a consequence, the educational powers of the Union are lost. The discussions at its meetings are rapid, if not harmful, and as to discipline, it becomes a monstrous caricature, the abjectness of men tyrannized by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

How far astray "pure and simple" has wandered from the mission to drill in discipline, and to what extent it has poisoned the mind of the Working Class, was three years ago pathetically illustrated by the American Labor Union. This body was struggling to free itself from the trammels of "pure and simple" superstition. Its constituent bodies had attested incipient clear-sightedness by tearing themselves loose from the American Federation of Labor. They had seen glimmerings of the truth that the Labor Movement is essentially a political movement. They were shaking off the hateful superstition that fetters the workers to political scabbiness as a "glorious act of freedom." In short, the American Labor Union was groping its way out of "pure and simple." What was the reasonable expectation under such circumstances? The expectation under such circumstances was natural that such an economic organization would simultaneously realize its disciplinary mission, and act accordingly. The Trades Union that has matured to the point of deserving the name, manifests a sense of the importance of discipline, not only by its action within, but also by its action without. Its vocabulary will attach the proper contempt to "anarchy," "autonomy," "fusion," "bureaucracy," "tolerance," etc.; and doing so it will have nothing but contempt, especially for an organization, that, pretending to be a political party of Socialism, pretending, accordingly, to be no less important a division of the Labor Movement than its vanguard, disregards the essentials for discipline. The American Labor Union did not. So powerful was the mental domination of "pure and simple" that the American Labor Union endorsed the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party—a body, which, being a genuine breath of American Federation of Labor "pure and simple," throws discipline to the dogs as "narrow," preaches different tenets in different latitudes and longitudes as "autonomy," fuses with capitalist parties as an evidence of its "tolerance" and tolerates an irresponsible privately owned press as a proof of its "freedom." The sight was pathetic. Trying to escape "pure and simple" by one door, the American Labor Union's disregard of the disciplinary mission of bona fide Unionism on the field of Labor caused it virtually to tumble back into the same quagmire by another door.

The signs are that this blunder will soon be rectified. So long as the Working Class has not disciplined itself into fitness, so long will the only remaining mission of the Capitalist Class demand the latter's continuance in power. Capitalism has fully fulfilled its economic mission: the country's mechanism of production is ready for Socialism. But the Working Class is not yet ready for the Spirit of the Age to entrust it with the charge of society. The Working Class still is a tumultuous mob. NO REVOLUTIONARY CLASS IS EVER RIPE FOR SUCCESS BEFORE IT HAS ITSELF WELL IN HAND. Until the Working Class of America shall have taken itself in hand, the Capitalist Class has a mission to perform—to KEEP ORDER, and it is doing so with a rod of scorpions.

It is one of the missions of the Trades Union to drill its class into the discipline that civilization demands.

DEBATE IN CHICAGO.

At Exchange Hall, corner of Monroe and Sanjamon streets, on Sunday afternoon at two o'clock, between Comrade A. Lafontefeltier, Socialist Labor Party candidate for Mayor of Chicago, and Ernest A. Untermyer, of the "Socialist" party, on the following: "Resolved, That the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was built from above and emanated in the head of one man." Admission, ten cents.

HAGGERTY IN 'FRISCO

SIGNER OF CHICAGO MANIFESTO SPEAKS ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

ISM.

Scores Gompers' American Federation of Labor, Ridicules the Trades Union Policy of the "Socialist" Party and Makes Clear the Necessity for the Class Conscious Organization of Labor—Who Is "Flip-Flopping"?

(Special Correspondence.)

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 27.—The bogus Socialists of this city, during last week, extensively advertised the fact that Father Haggerty was to speak last night at the Alhambra Theatre. There was not much in that to arouse our curiosity, or desire to be present, because the aforesaid "Socialists" have "Fathers" galore to address them; but when "Father" Haggerty is found to be Thomas J. Haggerty, editor of "The Voice of Labor," and signer of the Chicago Manifesto, which is now agitating the labor world, then the fact becomes not only interesting, but The People's reporter considers it a solemn duty to be one of the Alhambra audience.

About the first three-quarters of Mr. Haggerty's speech require no comment. It was a typical "Socialist" party speech upon the conditions of to-day, the duties of man to man, and his relation to society. There was neither anything wrong nor anything great about it. It was the speech of a trained speaker speaking down to his audience; and, as such, it had a chilling effect upon one trained in the Socialist Labor Party. We were disappointed and about to leave the hall. It was not what should be expected from one of the signers of the Chicago Manifesto and promoters of the proposed industrial unionism. But we stayed and were paid for judging.

During the last quarter of his speech, Thomas J. Haggerty left out the "Father," forgot the "Socialist" party audience he was addressing, forgot his college breeding, forgot his well-paying lecture job, in short, forgot himself, or should we rather say, became himself, became one of us, became the signer of the Manifesto and the promoter of true Working Class organization, became, in short, "a rabid De Leonite."

First, he branded Gompers and Mitchell, et al., as traitors and fakirs (he said the very words and proved them). He showed their fraternity with the capitalists; proved their unions to be scab concerns and promoters of scabbiness of every kind; showed how, by high initiation fees, they build up unions for the few to the detriment of the mass; showed how one union scabs upon another; showed how the labor fakirs divide and subdivide the Working Class. Further, he demonstrated the folly of a political party (the "Socialist" party, of course, as no other attempts the trick) attempting to unite the Working Class as a class at the ballot box when the workers are divided and fight each other 364 days in the year upon the economic field. Then he showed that reform was nothing for the Working Class, and continued: "We must have revolution, peaceable if possible, but, to tell the truth, we care not how we get it for we must have it. But if we shall succeed in the coming revolution it must be through an industrially united and well organized Working Class. If the workers won at the ballot box tomorrow, their votes would amount to only so much waste paper unless they had an economic organization to carry out the demands of the political. The political organization is only the barometer with which to register our strength. It is good only as such; but the economic organization must be the real foundation of the society to come. The workers must be organized so that through their unions they can operate industry at the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth."

No need to tell readers of The People and of Socialist Labor Party literature where that came from. It is easily recognized as sentences out of "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," by Daniel De Leon.

Part of the audience became apparently very uneasy under such lashings and immediately as he stopped a great part rushed out. But his notes struck home with the workmen and outside we

(Continued on page 6.)

FIFTH EXPLOSION

THIS TIME FROM EDITOR, PRESIDENT, ETC., SAMUEL GOMPERS.

MORE TO COME

(Federationist, March, 1905.)

THE TRADES UNIONS TO BE SMASHED AGAIN.

The Socialists have called another convention to smash the American trade union movement. This is the sixth "concentrated" effort in this direction in the past decade. In 1894, after the American Railway Union furore and fiasco, a congress was called at Chicago to change the name of that organization to the American Labor Union and to extend its "sphere of influence" to all labor, with a patent scheme of land colonization.

In 1895 the Socialist political party called into being the great trade union demagogue, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Then, in order, came the St. Louis congress of Socialist trade union "busters," at which a non-union Socialist without so much as a credential declared he represented two million "unorganized" men.

Following this was ushered in the Western Federation of Labor, which, to manifest its ideal of the world-wide brotherhood of man, launched that movement to be confined to the West alone.

And yet another congress, in which the Western Federation of Labor became the American Labor Union.

And now the American Labor Union, confessing its insufficiency and failure, joins with a number of other Socialists in a call for another congress to again annihilate the American trade union movement.

Reannouncing the list of the twenty-six signers of this call, one will look in vain to find the name of one man who has not for years been engaged in the delectable work of trying to divert, pervert, and disrupt the labor movement of the country. Here's the list, look it over and judge for yourself:

W. J. Pinkerton, A. M. Simons, Thos. J. Haggerty, Wm. E. Trautman, Chas. H. Moyer, Geo. Estes, William D. Haywood, W. Shurtleff, M. E. White, Thos. J. De Young, C. O. Sherman, Fred D. Henion, Mother Jones, Frank M. McCabe, John M. O'Neill, Frank Bohn, Daniel McDonald, John Guild, Jos. Schmitt, W. L. Hall, Ernest Untermeyer, W. J. Bradley, Frank Kraft, A. J. Swift, J. E. Fitzgerald, Clarence Smith.

Cousinhood of the frequency with which Mr. Eugene V. Debs has periodically inaugurated a new movement, we were somewhat surprised to notice that his name was conspicuous by its absence from the call, but "comrade" Trautmann explained after in a newspaper item that "comrade Debs was unable to sign the document owing to nervous prostration." Of course, some physical disability was the only cause for the absence of Mr. Debs' name from the call, for surely another of his new movements was due about this time. Even up to the time when Mr. Debs was a Socialist candidate for president, he was a Democratic politician and slum orator.

We feel sure that the endorsement and the latest accession to this new movement of Mr. Daniel Loeb, alias De Leon, will bring unctious to the goals of the promoters of the latest trade union smashing scheme. So the Socialist trade union smashers and ramblers from without, and the bidders from within, are again joining hands; a pleasant sight of the "Pirates" and the "Kangaroos" hugging each other in glee over their prospective prey.

It may not be uninteresting to note that President Moyer and Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation of

Miners, have joined the coterie in the call for this new effort to destroy the labor movement. Mark well, the Western Federation of Miners, toward whose assistance the members and unions of the American Federation of Labor contributed thousands upon thousands of dollars and are yet contributing, as a result of our appeal in their behalf, and in response to appeals and visits from the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners now being made, are exhibiting their sense of gratitude and principles of unionism in the effort to disrupt the trade union movement. Aye, even the official journal of the Western Federation of Miners, in publishing the American Federation of Labor's appeal for financial assistance, unconsciously paid, our movement a tribute by publishing our indictment of Colorado conditions and appeal for financial assistance under the following head: "The American Federation of Labor to the Rescue."

We do not believe that either Mr. Moyer or Mr. Haywood represents in this their latest acts either the wishes or purposes of the rank and file of the Western Federation of Miners. As a matter of fact, the disruptive tactics to which they have given their names and their services have been pursued without consulting the wishes or obtaining the consent of the membership either at a convention or by referendum.

Of course, we are aware that some Socialists have declared that this latest effort is wrongful, but the protest of the most of these is half-hearted and, upon the face, ineffectual.

The last Socialist congress held in Chicago, 1904, reaffirmed the declaration of the Socialist congresses held in Brussels, Zurich, and London, in effect that "the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working classes, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement," and further declared that "Neither political nor any other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement."

These declarations were solemnly made, even by those who now sign the call in direct conflict with their own political party declarations. The inference is logical that the declaration was made for a purpose, and that purpose was the vote-getting of the trade unionists, and that after it had served its purpose, the declaration was tossed into the waste-paper basket to be gathered together at some future time for repetition for the same purpose. In the meantime each Socialist may run amuck or join a band having in view nothing but destruction of labor's interests.

The more open and aggressive of the political Socialists recognize this time as good as any when they may make a move to renew the effort to crush the American labor movement. The citizens' alliances and the Parryites may be counted upon to be their willing allies and accomplices.

And so far as the trade union movement is concerned, it might as well have to face all its enemies, open or secret, at one and the same time. In any event it is far better that all of them come out in the open so that we may all know whom we have to overcome. That they will be confronted and overcome is as sure as it is said, "God made little apples," and some one else has made little Socialists who launch bubbles which are filled with exuberance of their verbosity and which explode from the fatulence of their enormous gabs.

East St. Louis Municipal Platform

of the Socialist Labor Party, With List of Candidates.

To the Working Class Voters of East St. Louis, Ill.:

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States has for its mission the capture of the political power, for the purpose of abolishing capitalist government and putting in its place Socialist administration.

This means Revolution!

We maintain that this Revolution must be brought about by the manual and mental workers, and that the first fundamental step towards a Union of the Working Class must be to base ourselves on the rock of class-consciousness, that is, to understand that the interest of the Working Class and the interest of the capitalist class are violently antagonistic, and that all reforms,

like municipal ownership of industries, will result in no good to the Working Class as long as the capitalist class controls the machinery of government.

Teaching the principles of the Socialist Revolution is a delicate work and should be conducted by the superior sense of the collective thought of the political party entrusted with the task: such a thing as Municipal Socialism is scientifically unsound. The object, therefore, in capturing municipal affairs by the Socialist Labor Party is to take a step preparatory to capturing the National Government.

The Socialist Labor Party could not, should it get municipal control, institute any laws conflicting with the common (Continued on page 3.)

CONGRESSIONAL

THE CLIMAX OF CYNICISM IS CAPPED.

\$190,000 Are Voted to Themselves by the Congressmen for Money They Did Not and Could Not Possibly Have Expended—Shamelessly they Admit the Fact and Pocket the Cash.

What may be called the climax of insolent cynicism was reached on the afternoon of March 1 when the House of Representatives, voted \$190,000 to the members of Congress as "mileage" for a journeying that was not and could not be performed.

The members of Congress are entitled to mileage, that is, to the railroad fare to and back home from Washington. In 1903 President Roosevelt convened an extra session of the Fifty-Eighth Congress. The session started in November and lasted up to the last second that it was possible to last. It lasted until the moment of convening for the regular session on the first Monday of the December. Of course, there was mileage due in traveling to Washington for the extra session. But, seeing that the extra session merged into the regular, and the Congressmen did not and could not go home and come back, there was no money expended by them for a home trip, nor any money expended in reaching Washington for the regular session. The only mileage due was the mileage for the trip to Washington in November and for the trip home now. But Congress demanded and voted to itself mileage for a theoretical trip home at the close of the extra session and mileage for a theoretical trip back to the regular session in December. The position is fully explained by Representative Underwood of Alabama and De Armond of Missouri, who opposed the clause in the general deficiency bill appropriating \$190,000 for mileage to the second session of this Congress.

Representative Underwood said: "I take the position that we place ourselves in an improper attitude to accept mileage for an adjournment when we did not adjourn, to accept mileage for an extra session when we did not have an extra session. I then contended that there was no time intervening between sessions. Now, since that time the Senate of the United States has held, on a matter coming before them, that there was not even a constructive recess; there was no constructive adjournment.

"Now, if there could not be any constructive recess for the President to send to the Senate the names of appointees, where could there be any constructive time that would warrant or authorize us, under any technicality of law, in voting into our own pockets three millions for two actual sessions of Congress? I do not care whether you want to do it as an extra session of the first or second session, the fact is, the law officers have held that there was no constructive recess, that one session ran absolutely into the other. We did not go home, we did not leave the Capital, we did not leave the seats we sat in; and I say that, for a few hundred dollars to each Member of this Congress, it will put us in a very small attitude before our constituents and the people of the United States and I sincerely hope that the amendment will be voted down."

Representative De Armond said: "It is perhaps, too late in the day, and too late in the session, to discuss at any particular length the legal question involved. But it must be an exceedingly acute mind that can find a gap between one session and another session as to make two out of what, to the apprehension of the ordinary man, with no dollars and cents involved, would seem to be one. But, however, that may be, nobody went home, nobody remained from home, nobody did any traveling, nobody was out anything on account of travel, and, in my judgment, nobody is entitled to any mileage. I for one shall vote against the proposition."

All of no avail. Amidst great excitement and lobbying the clause was adopted by 90 votes to 70.

What does it mean? Are these gentlemen so greedy after cash? That may have contributed its share to the disgraceful scene, or rather to a scene that is an insult to the American people. The meaning of it is that the political committee, named Congress, of the American capitalist class has become utterly cynical. They care not a whit what people may think; America is their oyster; they propose to treat the land as such; and in the language of their patron saint Tweed they brazenly ask:

"What are you going to do about it?"

The Revolution in Russia

(From the German of Rosa Luxemburg in the "Berlin Vorwärts," translated for The People by Gotthold Ollendorff.)

The development of revolutionary events in the empire of the Czar, by the transplanting of the proletarian uprising from Petersburg to the Russian provinces and to the Lithuanian and Polish territories, has already put aside every doubt as to the fact that, at present, in the empire of the knout, the question is not one regarding a spontaneous, blind revolt of oppressed slaves, but concerning a de-facto political movement of the class conscious city-proletariat, a movement carried on in complete union and in the closest political connection, in answer to the sudden signal from Petersburg. The Social Democracy, all over, stands at the head of the revolt.

And this also is the natural position of a revolutionary party at the outbreak of an open, political battle of the masses. To conquer the leading position in the course of the revolution, to skillfully make use of the first victories and defeats of the elementary uprisings, to gain the power of the stream within the stream itself—that is the task of the Social Democracy in revolutionary epochs. To master and to direct, not the commencement, but the end, the result of a revolutionary upheaval, that is the sole object, a political party may in reason aspire to if it will not fall a prey to fantastic illusions of self over-estimation or to an indolent pessimism.

But how far the party will succeed in this task, how far it is able to cope with the situation, that most largely depends on how much influence upon the masses in pre-revolutionary times the Social Democracy has undertaken to acquire, how far it has already succeeded in creating a "corps d'élite" of clear-sighted, politically schooled workmen, how large the amount of educational and organization work is, which it has performed. The present happenings in the Russian empire can only be estimated and comprehended in the light of the previous experiences of the labor movement, only through the perspective of the entire fifteen to twenty years old history of the Social Democracy.

When the question is put, what share the Social Democracy has in the present revolutionary uprising, it should be stated before all that at no time and right up till now, in Russia proper, nobody at all, the Social Democracy excepted, has been concerned about the working class, about its mental and material improvement, about its political education. The industrial and commercial bourgeoisie proper, as a class, has not even been able to reach up to a weakly liberalism, and the liberal agrarian noblemen have made wry faces from afar, ever travelling politically upon the narrow path of virtue "between fear and hope." As political educators of the industrial proletariat, they do not enter into consideration at all. But in as far as radical and democratic intelligence concerned itself about the Russian people, and it did so zealously, especially in the years between 1890 and 1895, it centred its activity as well as its sympathies exclusively upon the rural population, upon the farmer class. As physicians in the villages, as statisticians in the Zemstvos, as village teachers, as landlords, the Russian liberals and democrats essayed to promote culture: The farmer, "mother earth"—these up to the first years of the decade of 1890 to 1900 were, for intelligence, the main points taken into consideration for the uplifting of Russia and its political future. The industrial city proletariat, together with modern capitalism, on the contrary, were looked upon as essentially foreign to the nature of the Russian people, as a dissonant, as a sore spot of national life. Even as late as in the first half of the decade of 1890 to 1900, the intellectual leader of the Russian opposition, the late, once brilliant author Michajlowsky, copiously attacked the Marxian doctrine of the social significance of the industrial proletariat, citing, for example, the city street songs and similar matters as a proof that the factory proletariat lead directly toward a moral and mental degradation of the Russian people.

And in the same courses up to the nineties also the socialistic trains of thought moved in Russia. The terrorist movement of the old "Narodnaja Wola"—theoretically, mainly resting upon the fiction of the communistic farmer community and its socialistic mission—up to the end of the eighties still affected the revolutionary circles and held the minds in the ban of the horizon of the old nativism, opposed to the city proletariat, although the political climax of the terrorist tactics had already been

passed in 1881, with the removal of Alexander the second.

Under such circumstances it was incumbent to actually conquer at first for the modern Russian city proletariat the social and historic civic right, to demonstrate its social and economic significance, to show the in it slumbering germs of a future revolutionary force and also the special connection of "the idea of the working class" with the political delivery of Russia from Czarism. The hot, theoretical, literary battle against the nativistic, anti-capitalistic theories regarding the right of existence of capitalism and the position of the modern proletariat in Russian society—this task alone has occupied the best part of a decade. Only towards the commencement of the nineties were the terrorist traditions and the nativistic prejudices of the Russian intellect vanquished and the Marxian doctrine impressed upon the minds, so that Social Democratic activity could commence.

But with this the difficulties and the painful errors of practical work also begun. It, at first, naturally, took the form of a secret propaganda in closed, small labor circles. The still totally uncultivated Russian proletariat in most cases had to be enlightened at first in a general sense, he had to be instructed at first in the most elementary principles of education before he could be made receptive of Social Democratic teachings. Thus propaganda of necessity was connected with general educational work and transformed into an extremely cumbersome, slowly advancing undertaking. Circles of five, of ten, of twenty workmen for years laid claim upon the best, nay, upon the entire forces of Social Democratic intelligence. Thanks to the conscientiousness and the zeal with which in Russia the temporarily dominant form of agitation is ever carried to its extreme consequence, to absurdity, the unavoidable element of pedantry soon appeared in the circle agitation and the Social Democracy became aware that Socialism within the circles had become almost a caricature of the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle. The workmen in the circles were not fashioned into fighting, class conscious proletarians, but, so to say, into learned rabbits of Socialism, into perfect sample specimens of enlightened workmen, who did not carry the movement into the masses, but, on the contrary, uprooted from their native soil, became estranged from the masses.

"Cruelly profoundly" the first phase of the Social Democratic activity was submitted to self criticism, jeered at and thrown aside. In place of the isolated "home work" and the "learned studies" in the circles for Socialism, towards the middle of the nineties, the motto: "mass agitation, immediate battle" was raised. But a mass agitation and mass battle under absolutism, without any political forms and rights, without any possibility of approaching the masses, without the rights to organize and to hold meetings, without the right to coalition, appeared to be like a squaring of the circle—a hare-brained idea. And still very soon, this very Russia proved by its example, how much mightier and brighter the materialistic social development is, than all the various "legalities," which, with their rigid yellow parchment faces, instill such a great amount of holy fear and veneration into so many West European Social Democrats. A mass-battle, a mass-agitation under absolutism proved possible. The squaring of the circle was accomplished in the first place in Poland, where, already in 1890, the first Social Democratic organization was founded. But it should be stated that this organization devoted itself to the economic struggle, not in an empiric, tentative manner, yet it succeeded in calling into life a healthy mass-movement. Russia followed the example of Poland and soon the hopes of the Social Democratic trade unions were raised to a high pitch. By a lively agitation upon the basis of the immediate, material requirements, the masses were actually set in motion and after a long series of smaller and larger strikes the agitation reached its climax in the enormous strike of 1896 in Petersburg. Led exclusively by Social Democrats, this mass-revolt seemed to crown the work and to give this new, second phase of the agitation a splendid testimonial.

But here another flaw revealed itself. The fast running cart of the Russian Social Democracy encountered disastrously another street corner. While in Poland already in 1893 the first "economic" phase of mass-agitation had been passed and a pronounced political Social Democratic movement begun in Russia, in the heat of mass-agitation, unwittingly politics as well as Socialism had almost completely vanished out of the agitation and what remained was mostly

only every-day trades unionism with a wee advance in wages as its ideal, replacing the battle with the bourgeoisie by conferences with the factory inspector. And as formerly the individual workmen in the circle by an academic course, so to say, were led to Marx, so now the entire working class was supposed to be fitted for the class struggle by object lessons, like a class of scholars, to become convinced of the necessity of the abolishment of absolutism by the sabreing of the gendarmes. In this wise, to a certain degree, preparatory work was performed for the experiments of a la Zubatow of the government, the creatures of which, later on, in the unions, tolerated by the government, babied the same counsels which the chancellor Count Bulow lately gave in the Reichstag to the striking miners of the Ruhr district.

For the third time tactics were submitted to searching criticism and at the end of the nineties, thorough POLITICAL mass-agitation was adopted. And the soil was so well prepared that the idea of the political battle spread like wildfire. With the beginning of the year 1901 a new phase—that of political mass-demonstrations in connection with academical revolts—was entered into. Like a thunder-storm, refreshing, purifying the atmosphere, the street demonstration travelled from town to town, from Petersburg, from north to south, from the west, from Warsaw, as far as to the most extreme east in far-away Siberia, to Tomsk and Tobolsk. And again the re-vivified revolutionary forces exploded in a general strike—this time in a POLITICAL GENERAL STRIKE in the south, in ROSTOW ON THE DON in 1903, where daily surrounded by soldiers, from ten to twenty thousand workmen met under the open sky in public meeting and where men of the people, unknown until then as Social Democratic speakers, addressed the masses with fiery tongues, where tens of thousands cheered the Social Democracy and proclaimed the downfall of absolutism.

And for the fourth time the movement threatened to turn into a "cul de sac." For it is in the nature of a healthy mass movement, that, if it shall not retrograde, it must advance, develop, intensify. And the Russian labor movement was living the "strenuous life." After the first cycle of political street demonstrations, there arose before the Russian Social Democracy the frightening question: What now? One cannot solely "demonstrate" for ever. Demonstration is but a moment, a prologue, an interrogation mark. Upon the lips of the Social Democracy, the answer hesitated—it was not easy to find.

Then came the war, and with it the solution. That word, which, in the sober, tranquil atmosphere of the humdrum of every day, is an absurdity, a braggadocio, a hollow phrase—*revolution*—became in Russia, with the beginning of the war, the watchword which electrified all living souls and awakened the loudest echo in the working class. The Social Democracy of the entire empire, in harmonious union with the events of the war, and accompanied by the thunder of cannon in Manchuria, agitated for the idea of the revolution, the open street battle, the revolt of the proletariat against Czarism. All articles of the Social Democratic press, all the hundreds of thousands of pamphlets of the Russian, the Polish, the Jewish, the Lettish Social Democracy, all meetings, culminated in the cry: "Proletarians, revolt against Czarism!" One agitated with bated breath and with a beating heart, for there is nothing more simple than a revolution accomplished, and nothing more devilishly difficult than one which shall be brought about. A thousand voices invited the revolution—and it came, as it ever comes, "unexpected"—although prepared for almost since two decades—inaudible, over night, like a rising flood, carrying high upon its swollen, angry-darling waters, all kinds of wrecking and planks, picked up on the road. He who believes that drifting planks guide the flood, may believe that Father Gapon is the author and leader of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

Thus a fair knowledge of the Social Democratic Labor Movement in Russia suffices in order to clearly comprehend that the present revolution—no matter in what forms it appears, and no matter by what provocation produced in the first place—did not come like a pistol-shot, but is an historical product of the Social Democratic movement of the whole empire. It forms a normal stage, a natural main-point on the line of development of the Social Democratic agitation, a point in which quantity again has been trans-

lated into quality—into a new form of battle—an accelerated reproduction on a higher scale of the Social Democratic mass-revolts in Petersburg of the year 1896 and in Rostow of the year 1903.

For if one reviews the almost fifteen year old history of Social Democratic agitation in Russia, it does not appear as a well defined zig-zag course,—much as in reality it may have so appeared to the Social Democrats there—but as a perfect logical development, in which each higher stage is a result of the preceding one, impossible without it. No matter how bitterly the original phase of the closed-circle propaganda was later on criticised by the Social Democrats themselves, still this humble Sisyphus work undoubtedly in the first place has created that great number of clear-sighted individuals among the proletariat, who later on became the bearers and supports of the mass-agitation upon the basis of economic interests. The intensified economic agitation has stirred the great masses of the working class so far, has incutted the idea of the class struggle to such a degree, that the pronounced and sharply accentuated political agitation found a grateful soil and thus was able to inaugurate the series of important street demonstrations. And all these phases of development in their entirety, in their ever increasing intensity and the ever growing extent of agitation, these have created that sum total of political clear-sightedness, that capability and that revolutionary frame of mind, which led to the events of January 22 and to those of the week succeeding. And without a doubt it is the sole and direct work of the Social Democracy that, in spite of all the promotion of national prejudices by absolutism, it has so thoroughly developed the sentiment of the political class solidarity of all the proletarians in Russia, that the Petersburg uprising became the signal of a general revolt of the working class in the entire empire, in Russia proper, as well as in Poland and in Lithuania—a revolt for common purposes, with common demands.

Of course, it does not matter if the historical course of the Social Democratic movement in Russia can be justified as the best, the sole and only proper one. Perhaps there might—especially now in the past—a much shorter and better road be found. But as social history is an eternal first performance, without repetition, the Social Democracy in particular is concerned to learn and to digest as to its inner logic, the actual ways of the labor movement as it has revealed itself in every country. Certainly the events of the war and the oppression of absolutism, grown insupportable, play a momentous role in these happenings. But that the fact that the present war could bring about such a revolt, that the pressure of absolutism became individually totally insup-

portable to the great mass of the industrial proletariat—from an objective standpoint this pressure has ever been the same—in that, the preliminary work of the Social Democracy reveals itself. The, for official Russia not less disastrous Crimean War, at the time only led to a farce of "liberal" reforms and this farce was the liquidation and the equivalent of that political power, which Russian liberalism by itself has been able to produce. The Russo-Turkish War, which, in its barbaric disposition of tens of thousands of proletarian and farmers' lives, was in no way inferior to the present war, and also at the time produced a strong ferment in society, only accelerated the rise of the terrorist "Narodnaja Wola" and, shown in its brilliant but short and sterile career, the amount of political power, *revolutionary intelligence* based on the liberal and democratic circles of society, is able to command. The founding of the party of systematic political terror was already on its own side from the beginning a product of disappointment in regard to the ability to organize and to move to action the Russian farmer-masses. With this also this class of society in Russia had proven its historic indolence.

And only the present war has been able to conjure up a revolutionary mass movement before which, at once, the armored castle of absolutism trembled. And this is because the present war has found throughout the whole empire a modern working class, stirred up and educated by an agitation of decades, a working class able, for the first time in the history of Russia, to coin into revolutionary deed the revolutionary consequences of the war.

And only upon the basis of this Social Democratic Labor Movement, the liberal sentiments and democratic currents of the intelligence, the blood and life of the progressive nobility, gained force and significance. The proletarian revolution came just at the proper time, just as its immediate precursors, the liberal Zemstvo, action and the democratic intelligence banquets, threatened to be destroyed by their own powerlessness, just when in the whole opposition movement suddenly a serious standstill had entered, which the reaction with the unerring scent of the reigning had already discovered and was preparing to take advantage of. The strong arm of the proletarian masses has shoved ahead the cart with a push and has given it such a velocity that it cannot and will not come to rest until absolutism has perished under its wheels.

Also in the empire of the Czar, the Social Democracy is not the one which reaps where others have sown. Rather to her belong the revolutionary seed, together with the giant work of clearing the proletarian soil. But the harvest belongs to all the progressive elements of civil society and, not least, to the International Social Democracy.

THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, 2, 4 and New Reade street, New York.

Dear comrades:—The members of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation of America, through the central executive committee, wish to inform all the members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party, in how far they are doing the work of the Socialist Labor Party among the Hungarian workmen in this country. So we beg you to publish the following statement:

The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation was organized for the sole purpose of enlightening the Hungarian workmen to their class interest; to propagate the principles of Marxian revolutionary Socialism. At the first convention of the above named organization, held in April, 1904, there was a slight sentiment in favor of joining the Socialist Labor Party but the majority was for remaining independent. At that time the Socialist Labor Party element thought it wise to consent for the time being, and to do all they can, to convince the honest rank and file of the fact, that the Socialist Labor Party is the only party in this country, that represents true, revolutionary Socialism; and if we want to carry on an aggressive and fruitful agitation for the cause of Socialism, we have got to organize into the Socialist Labor Party.

According to the proceedings of this convention, the central committee was barred from doing campaign work in the interest of either the Socialist Labor Party or the "Socialist" party. This decision was upheld, until election came around, then the trouble started. In order not to violate the proceedings of the convention, and still to be able to do some campaign work, the New York comrades organized the Hungarian branch

of the Socialist Labor Party and held open air meetings, sold the party's literature and advertised the party's press. Many branches of the Federation ignored the proceedings of the convention and took active part in the campaign of the Socialist Labor Party, as in San Francisco, Braddock, Milwaukee, Schenectady and Passaic. This the Hungarian "Social Democrats" did not like, and tried to stir up trouble, which culminated in a special convention, held in November 1904.

When this convention came the Social Democrats went. When they saw every delegate coming in from out of town with the emblem of the Socialist Labor Party pinned on the lapel of his coat, they felt a little uneasy and tried to make some disturbance, but we were prepared for them. From the very start of the convention they knew they were beaten and when they heard every delegate report his instruction to vote in favor of joining the Socialist Labor Party or withdraw from the Federation, they quietly left the hall. The remaining delegates unanimously voted to join the Socialist Labor Party. Ever since this convention, the Federation, with its weekly organ, the "Nepakarat," and printing plant, the property of the Federation, has endeavored to the best of its ability to spread revolutionary Socialism, as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party. We endorse the party's trade union policy in every shape and manner.

Every article, which appeared in The People and bears out the correctness of the party's principles and tactics is translated and published in the "Nepakarat." Those worth mentioning, so far, are the following: Frank Bohn's report in regard to the conference to be held at Chicago; the Chicago Manifesto; The People's editorials on this question; the

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letters exchanged between Ford and De Leon; one from Charles W. Winfield; one from J. T. De Shazer; Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan; and the pamphlets, "What Means This Strike?" and "Reform and Revolution." The first pamphlet was put in pamphlet form and is now circulated all over the country. "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" will be started soon and will also be published in pamphlet form.

In the last campaign we did everything that was possible to aid the Party in its propaganda. The only thing that separates us from the Socialist Labor Party's members, are the dues. We would like the party membership to be set right also, in regard to this question. The only way we can organize the Hungarian working people into the Socialist Labor Party, is by bringing them into a Hungarian organization, with press and literature. If we are to do this, we have got to have the necessary cash in order to meet the expenses. Consequently, if we were to pay the dues to the party we would be left without means to carry on the work of organization.

The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation is organized with branches in New York, Schenectady, Passaic, Newark, Brooklyn, Elizabethport, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Milwaukee and San Francisco. We feel confident that within a short time we will have perfected this organization up to the Socialist Labor Party mark, and will be a strong link in the Socialist Labor Party chain. With the straight forward teachings of the Socialist Labor Party, the Hungarian workmen will, no doubt, become an unavoidable enemy of this class system of society and will help to down and overthrow capitalism and build up the Socialist Republic.

For the General Committee,
Arnold Gonda, Sec'y.
New York, February 19, 1905.

LAWRENCE—LOWELL—HAY-
ERHILL.

Section Lawrence, Mass., Socialist Labor Party, in conjunction with the members of L. A. 373, S. T. & L. A., will celebrate the Thirty-fourth anniversary of the Paris Commune on Saturday evening, March 18, 1905, at Weavers' Hall, 313 Common street, Lawrence. A lecture will be delivered by Comrade William H. Carroll of Boston. Comrades and sympathizers in Lowell and Haverhill and all workers who desire to know something of the Commune and its lessons, are invited to attend. Admission ten cents.

CONCERT PROGRAMME.

The following is the programme for the Orchestra Concert to be rendered at the Daily People Festival, on Sunday afternoon, March 19, at Grand Central Palace:

1. Overture, "Raymond".....Thomas
2. a. Andante Cantabile.....Tchaikowsky
b. Toreador and Andalusian, Rubenstein
3. Cello Solo,
a. Cantilena.....Goltermann
b. Serenade.....Haydn
Mr. Leo Schulz
4. Waltz, "Die Fledermaus".....Strauss
5. Overture, "Merry Wives of Windsor".....Nicolai
6. "Hymne a Sainte Cecile".....Gounod
7. Suite "Peer Gynt".....Grieg
8. Asas Death; b. In the hall of the Mountain King.
9. Trumpet Solo.....Mr. A. Bode
10. Overture, Rienzli.....Wagner
11. Columbian Festival March, Leo Schulz

BAZAAR AND FAIR.

The following presents have been received for the Bazaar and Fair to be held at Grand Central Palace on Sunday, March 19, for the benefit of the Daily People:

H. Deutsch, city, box of fine cigars; Mrs. George Rose, Stamford, Conn., two fine cushions; Mrs. B. Touroff, Brooklyn, N. Y., 10 pieces of crockery, picture album, picture frame, 6 pairs of crocheted slippers; B. Silberstein, Brooklyn, N. Y., very fine embroidered cushion; A. Bian, city, two pairs of vases; Joseph Lutkenhaus, city, safety razor; Mrs. Fischer and Mrs. Touroff, Brownsville, N. Y., elegant embroidered cushion; Mrs. D. Rüdwick, city, fine cloth apron, F. W. Gerner, Brooklyn, N. Y., half-dozen fine glass dishes, glass bowl and umbrella stand; E. Mueller, Brooklyn, N. Y., fancy beer stein, pair of vases, box of perfumed soap; A. Gollerstepper, city, cash donation, \$5.

L. Abelson, Org.

2-6 New Reade street, New York.

QUEENS COUNTY, ATTENTION! Readers of The People, friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party in Queens County, attention:

Those willing to assist in the work of S. L. P. organization in Queens County are requested to communicate with Rudolph Katz, 205 East 94th street, New York.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

From Octave M. Held, Member of the Socialist Labor Party.

DETROIT, Feb. 18.—To my mind, the Chicago Manifesto presents itself as a logical deduction of distinct socio-economic forces that have been at work for some time past. First it appears as the effect produced by the constant propaganda and sound education carried on by the Socialist Labor Party during the last nine years or so. Then again it appears as the culminating point of a discontent which has manifested itself in the economic organizations of labor known as pure and simple unions.

Of late this discontent has been intensified a hundredfold by the many defeats suffered at the hands of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, every time the rank and file of those organizations tried to rebel against the miserable prevailing conditions. To fight hard against a cunning enemy and to get the worst of it time after time is something that only the strongest will stand. To get beaten black and blue and to have the labor lieutenants rub it in by telling us that we are winners might work well enough in the beginning, but to repeat the same time and again is something that only those of a slavish disposition will submit to without a murmur. A look back at the strike of the United Mine Workers' union of Pennsylvania in 1902; the strike of the same union of Colorado in 1903; also the strike of the Amalgamated Butchers of more recent date; the determined stand taken by the rank and file of those unions during the strikes, the bitter defeat brought on at the hands of the capitalists and their allies, John Mitchell and Michael Donnelly, through arbitration boards that worked only one way, are cases in point graphic enough and recent enough to prove the previous statement. I take those strikes because of their national importance, for, as such, they serve to illustrate numberless minor conflicts which rise for a moment, take their forms and disappear in the same manner as those of a national character.

Is it any wonder then that this discontent, enlightened by the sound economic teachings and the never lacking energy of the militant forces of the Socialist Labor Party, is trying to find a way whereby it can turn its defeat into victory?

Were these two causes all sufficient in themselves to arrive at the logical deduction, as implied in the Manifesto, the Manifesto itself would be superfluous and the only thing remaining to do for those men who assembled in Chicago last month would be to join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and fight it out on their lines. There remains then another view point from which to observe this socio-economic deduction.

As a member of an organization which rightly lays claim to be the best dis-

ciplined and best based of any political party in existence because of the thorough understanding of each of its members of its tactics and ultimate aim, I have implicit confidence in the officers which I myself help to elect and until they are proven otherwise than true to the interest of the Socialist Labor Party, that confidence will remain unshaken. (There are ample means provided in the constitution of the S. L. P. to keep its members within certain limits and if there are some who think that Comrade Bohn has overstepped those limits they can have recourse to the constitution. Let us not forget though that criticisms based upon scientific research is one thing, while declamation based upon a lack of argument is another thing.) Whatever Comrade Bohn did the results which already are apparent go far to show that his stand was in the right direction.

In order that a movement may take shape and develop it must depend upon the material ready at hand, whatever it is. The very fact that this material is there to set in motion a principle dear to all class conscious wage workers is enough in itself for all of us to give it our sincere consideration, for the time being, at least. The old saying that it is not what we like that makes us fat but what we have will in this case illustrate the point: that in starting the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance the founders had in mind an organization economic, while the results of six years of work show that organization to be political.

Given a certain amount of time any organization should be able to demonstrate by facts that have taken place during that time, be it one, two or six years as the case may be, and whether or not during that time progress has been made. If instead the contrary is proven true then it is high time to see that something else be done to carry out the purpose for which such an organization was set up for.

In the five years I have been associated with the Socialist Labor Party I have looked forward to the day when I would be able to throw my effort to the advantage of an organization of labor built upon the class struggle.

The argument that the time for the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance to grow is not ripe is proven the contrary, for certainly the facts which appear before us in our every day life show that the time is rotten-ripe. There is not one person in the Socialist Labor Party who would not like to see the Socialist Republic inaugurated to-morrow were it possible. But before this can come so that no hitch may hinder its inauguration we must have the workers organized in an industrial union which must be able to take hold of the means of pro-

duction when the political party of the

working class has captured the political power from the capitalist class. Such a union must be national in scope with international relations. It must start with a numerical strength, mighty enough, so that it can at the very first combat the forces from which it severs connections, and prove itself at the very start the equal if not the superior of its antagonist; one mismove at the start may be the means of putting the organization several years back.

Right or wrong, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is impotent to accomplish the mission for which it was set. Its name, if nothing else, excludes the very forces which should make it mighty, and tell me, comrades, what is right without might? Only a force, nothing else. Imagine some individuals starting an organization of labor named Republican Knights of Labor, and at a glance you will see what effect this will have amongst those who look at things only superficially. To capitalist society, as constituted to-day, the word Socialist goes hand in hand with Democratic, Republican, Prohibitionist, etc., etc. Only its political aspect appears. This was probably the error the members of the Chicago conference detected in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

If those three premises are right, then the Manifesto is certainly a thing to be wished for and for which the Socialist Labor Party should do all in its power to see that this industrial union is started right and in the interest of the wage working class only. An economic organization based upon the principle that demands the full product of labor for the class that creates it need not be affiliated with any political party. The sound economic education that a sound principle, embodied in an industrial union such as the Manifesto foreshadows, is bound to lead its members on election day to the ballot box, with a consciousness of a class duty to be performed on that day, which, coupled with the work accomplished on the industrial field the other 364 days, will soon make the foundations of a rotten edifice tumble down and wipe out forever class antagonism, class war, and anarchy.

The members of the Socialist Labor Party need not fear this coming movement. Our party is too well grounded to act cowardly in a case of this kind. The Socialist Labor Party should take hold boldly, fearlessly, and the light it has thrown upon the labor movement in the past, should be intensified as much as possible from now on until the convention takes place in June.

Our very best men should be there with their very best arguments for, in the coming June convention I see every thing to gain for the wage working class and "nothing whatsoever to lose".

Party.

T. F. Dugan, Member Socialist Labor Party, other like notable cases on record. In Butte, Mont., it was the secretary of the "Socialist" party local who went around with me and aided me to secure six or eight subs for the Weekly People. I was convinced that a member of the Socialist Labor Party could secure more subs in Butte than any city of its size, if he wished to do so. There is no element within that organization whose tactics are similar to those of Local Omaha, "Socialist" party. I cannot but help think that if organization is perfected on the lines laid down by Comrade Hagerty, that truth and science will make progress much faster amongst our class than if we remain separated from the new organization.

Here in Butte, there is no economic organization of our class. If the Western Federation of Miners was organized here, we could get more support in the way of subs and sale of literature. I deny that the Western Federation of Miners is a craft organization. It has always stood by other organizations in their struggles in camps where they were organized; more so than any other organization in the United States, with the possible exception of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. It is also one of the contentions of the Western Federation.

III.

From Richard Berdan, Member Socialist Labor Party.

DETROIT, N. Y., Feb. 18.—Please permit me a few words on "The Chicago Manifesto." I am a member of Passaic County, New Jersey, Socialist Labor Party; was admitted November, 1903, and was organizer at the time of the split in the party.

Nothing on this subject I desire to express my individual opinion and, as is for intelligent readers, I need not expound entirely, consequently, I eliminate and condense as much as possible. History, past, present, and future, reveals the will of persons and peoples

and their possible continued acts. Material interests have always played a prominent part. Nations, like individuals, have been born infirm, grew to complete development, then declined, and finally died; that is inevitable law. Why do I exist at the present time? Did I always exist? Will I always exist? It has been said, "we only have the present" and "our actions now are all that we have control over." Is it not the same with societies and organizations? Has the American Federation of Labor, the Knights of Labor, the British American governments or any other government or political parties of the governments always existed? Cer-

tainly not. Then why should we expect everything to remain "status quo" so far as political or economic organizations are concerned?

When Karl Marx discovered the philosophy for the foundation of Socialism other philosophers objected to his teaching. When the Socialist Labor Party came into existence the two existing parties opposed it. When the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance came, the same opposition from the existing trades unions arose. That brings me to the matter in hand—the Chicago Conference to be held June 30 next.

The question to be settled is this: Do I want anything more progressive than

now exists? Do I think it possible for there to be anything better than the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? If there is, do I want to know it? Am I willing to go to that conference and there state my desires honestly regardless of consequences, showing the strong and weak points of the organizations that are active?

At one time I honestly thought that the Republican, then the Democratic, party was the proper party for me to vote. Again, I thought the trade union was right. Now I believe the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance are right, and, regardless of any advantage, (temporary or immediate to myself or organization) I would not support anything I did not believe to be right. If an organization can be formed that recognizes the class struggle economically and politically that is higher and better than now exists I am in favor of it—as an individual.

As a member of the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance I am in favor of sending as many as possible to present our principles at that conference and insist that our press shall be recognized as the official press of the new organization; the next necessary move to be made will be by our party, i. e., to call a convention or general vote, or perhaps both. Let us keep our eyes open. If the conference will not recognize our attitude then our delegates should withdraw.

Fraternally,

Richard Berdan.

P. S.—This copy was read to Section meeting last night and unanimously endorsed by all present.

S. L. P. LECTURES

Buffalo—At Florence Parlors, 527 Main street, near Genesee street, on Sunday, March 12, at three o'clock, under auspices of Labor Lyceum. Subject: "Socialism: What it is, and What it Strives to Accomplish," by James D. Golden. Admission free.

Buffalo—At Socialist Labor Party headquarters, room 510, 19 West Mohawk street, on Monday, March 13, at eight p. m. Subject: "Pages from History of Socialist Labor Party," by B. Reinstein. Admission free.

Detroit—At Mannebach's Hall, 273 Gratiot avenue, Sunday, March 12, at 2:30 p. m. Subject: "Pure and Simple Trades Unionism versus the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance," by George Hasseler. Admission free.

New York—At Lenox Assembly Rooms, 256 Second street, near Avenue C, Friday, March 10, at 8 p. m. Subject: "Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance versus American Federation of Labor," by John T. Vaughan. Admission free.

New York—At Clark's Hall, northwest corner of Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, Sunday, March 12, at 8 p. m. Subject: "Labor Laws and Trades Unionism," by James Connolly. Admission free.

READ THIS!

ALL MEMBERS, SYMPATHIZERS, READERS OF THIS PAPER AND FRIENDS, ARE EARNESTLY REQUESTED TO ATTEND THE MASS MEETING TO BE HELD AT 2109 SARAH STREET, SOUTH SIDE PITTSBURGH, PA., SUNDAY, MARCH 12, 1905, AT 2 O'CLOCK P. M., AT WHICH TIME AND PLACE SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY WILL BE REORGANIZED. THE NEW SECTION WILL BE FORMED OUT OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF OLD ALLEGHENY COUNTY SECTION, WHO SECEDED FROM THE PARTY A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, AND WHO RETURN WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF APPROXIMATELY 135, AND THE MEMBERS OF SECTION WILKINSBURG AND BRADDOCK, WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF APPROXIMATELY 100. COME AND ASSIST IN THE REJOINING OF THE PARTS OF THIS FIGHTING MACHINE AND MAKE IT AGAIN WHAT IT ONCE WAS AND SHOULD EVER HAVE BEEN: A TERROR TO THE FOES OF THE WORKING CLASS!

SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY, D. E. GILCHRIST, Sec'y pro tem.

GARMENT WORKERS' ATTENTION!

Members of the Socialist Labor Party, also sympathizers and others who favor a progressive labor movement in our trade, in particular, are invited to attend the meetings of the Garment Workers' Local 412 Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which meets regularly every Saturday, 8 p. m. in the Club Rooms of the Socialist Labor Party, 253 East 4th street.

The Secretary.

MILWAUKEE COMMUNE FESTIVAL. Comrades, and friends of the Socialist Labor Party in Milwaukee: Be at Party headquarters, Sunday afternoon, March 12. Final arrangements for the living pictures to be produced at the Commune Festival will take place.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

East St. Louis Municipal Platform

(Continued from page 1.)

ty, State, or national laws, for the capitalists in control of the county, State, and national departments will swoop down upon it with Sheriff's posse, State militia, and Federal troops, the same as was done in the recent Colorado eight-hour strike, where local officials favorably inclined toward the working classes were forced to resign through the pressure brought to bear by these greater than municipal powers. Hence, that scientifically sound declaration, "Socialism is, first, national, then international," is the only Socialism possible. Therefore, in entering this municipal campaign the Socialist Labor Party of East St. Louis presents no definite municipal program, but, true to its mission, will force the municipal officers elected by it to work, first, last, and all the time, for the interest of the Working Class of the land, by seeing to it that such laws as are already on the statute book, pertaining to the protection of the workers, are enforced, instituting and repealing, as far as is possible such laws as are against their protection.

The antagonism between the Working Class and the capitalist or employing class produces a Class Struggle, the capitalists on the one hand struggling for more profits from the workers, while the workers on the other hand are struggling for more wages. The experience of the past has taught us that this struggle has resulted in the defeat of the workers. In every instance they have been beaten down and forced into more abject servitude, while the capitalists have grown richer in profits and more powerful in every respect. Why these results, when the workers outnumber the capitalists ten to one?

The answer is forthcoming; and the Socialist Labor Party, in connection with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance (the only revolutionary trades union), have it as a guide to the final overthrow of the capitalist class, abolishing thereby all profits and securing for the workers their full product.

Here it is: Materialism is the basis

KANSAS

(Continued from page 1.)

neath a dung-hill and to damn its memory. If the Socialist party in Kansas can be de Leonized, how can the party in other states and in the Nation escape? Comrades of Kansas, a crisis confronts you. In your hands rests the fate of the Socialist party of Kansas; perhaps of other states, and of the Union. Pronounce your verdict.

THOMAS E. WILL

I had heard very loud "rumblings" from Kansas before. A serious class struggle between the workers and the middle class was known to be rending the poor old "Socialist" party in Kansas. "Let her rumble to the explosion point," said I to the Pittsburgh comrades. "Nothing can hinder the class struggle. After the explosion the workers will stand on their own feet and know what to do." But the above bit of classic English was too much to permit me to go through quietly. I decided to stop at Wichita, state headquarters of the S. P., from which the venom had been spouted.

My first discovery was that Wichita Local, "Socialist" party, is run in connection with a church—the People's Church. The Local meets directly after the Sunday sermon. Not having had the opportunity of attending Divine worship to any great extent since undertaking the present tour, I thought to kill two birds with one stone—attend church and, thereafter, explain the nature of the "deadly Upas-tree" to the congregation. The regular pastor is the Rev. Dr. Granville Lowther, late "Socialist" candidate for Governor of Kansas. He being absent, the sermon was preached by Prof. Will, state secretary, S. P. The discourse consisted entirely of fierce attacks upon "Revolutionary Socialism" and upon the "revolutionary disturbers." "De Leonite spies," who were disrupting the sanctified Socialist party of Kansas. The text I do not recall. But nothing in the "sermon" led me to believe that it was "A soft answer turneth away wrath."

Never can I forget the impression which the situation made upon me. Behind the pulpit was a tall dignified personage in frock-coat, dealing out straw to the assembled sheep and lambs. Among the latter, two types might be so clearly distinguished as not to need pointing out. Up in front was a body of elderly men who have undoubtedly seen hard service in every Kansas "movement" from John Brown's border fighting in the fifties to the present attack on "standard oil."

On the side and in the rear the younger element, the "disturbers," "revolutionists," "De Leonites," were ranged on massive, ready to pick snares in the "sermon." Occasionally they laughed right out in church. Grim be-whiskered faces would turn and scowl at them. Accustomed as I have been to the cheap hall

for all men's movements; that is, all men move in the direction of their material interests. Men with like interests band themselves together; hence, organization is the order of the day, each organization representing a distinct material interest.

Of all the organizations in existence (the number of which runs up into the thousands) the all important ones are formed on but two distinct lines, namely, the class organization of the capitalist class and the class organization of the Working Class. Each of these organizations has a distinct material or economic interest, the one antagonistic to the other. A battle is on between these two classes, and must be fought to a finish, until capitalism is overthrown and Socialism put in its place, or the workers driven farther into servitude, from which it will take generations to bring them out.

The Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance have the principles of organizations necessary for the defeat of the capitalist class, hence the capturing of municipalities by the Socialist Labor Party is a means for uniting the workers for final action. All economic interests find their expression in politics. The workers therefore, must have a class-conscious economic organization, with a class political organization as its expression; the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance are such organizations.

The conflict between these two classes in the shop, mill, mine, and factory, must be carried to the political field for final action. The secret of the power which now belongs to the capitalist class lies in the fact that its members combine their economic and political organizations, and, using the power thus created, keep the workers divided on the economic and political field by controlling the economic or trades union organization through the officers of the same; and on the political field, by splitting up and having several political parties, all under their control. As soon as the work-

ers were assembled to plan for the revolution, I was incapable, at first, of really appreciating the situation. But as the "sermon" proceeded, as classic Socialist writers were attacked, and as the proletarian movement was more and more denounced, my mind wandered in search of the cause of it all. How was it possible for men like honest, well-meaning, warm-hearted old Dr. Lowther, and keen, critical, far-seeing Professor Will, to fasten themselves upon the working class movement and through ignorance or self-interest or both, seek to dam the flood of the proletarian revolution?

Through every shade of utopian dream and bogus revolution the European movement had to pass before it was purified by science, and through science by clear purpose and honest tactics. And as the child in its development to maturity must pass through every stage of civilization, so must the Socialist movement, when its seeds are planted in a new country, a new city, or in an unstructured mind, go through each historic stage of development. The "Eqg," the "Prof." and the "Rev. Dr." cannot possibly understand revolutionary Socialism unless they live with the workers, eat with them, work with them. This they will usually refuse to do. On the other hand the worker who is yet capitalist minded, who is still on his knees, naturally looks up to these God-appointed leaders of the race. They are grateful indeed that from the camp of the "respectables" there have come—who will act as a pillar of fire by night and a cloud by day, to guide them to the new Jerusalem. Such has been the situation in Kansas. At best it can be but temporary. Workers who had secured revolutionary ideas in other towns strayed in. The virus was given to others. They arose from their knees and saw the small statues of the self-appointed leaders: they saw that, whatever attitude the leaders might have toward the Capitalist Class (Dr. Lowther preaches that Christianity is Socialism and love will do the work), they and the capitalist were enemies. It became plain to them that whatever tactics might satisfy the get-there-quick members of the party (Will preached against the revolution and in favor of what he called "Platform Socialism"), they must, as workers, be revolutionists.

It is interesting to note that the men who stirred these workers to action were old S. L. P. men, "free-lance" agitators who, during the last campaign spoke for the S. P. "I often tried to speak in a way to please these S. P. people," said one of them to me, "but when I got on the box, and saw those workmen, I could not do it! I was a revolutionist."

And the workers, instinctively knowing the truth when it was brought to them, came to a vacant lot in the cold November nights and beside a bon-fire heard the sage for their class

ers awakened to this fact and cease being dupes of the capitalists and their henchmen and unite themselves into a class-conscious trades union, with a class political party expression, their freedom is assured.

Since the mission of the Socialist Labor Party is the overthrow of the capitalist government and the establishment of a Working Class or Industrial Government, in which the worker will get, not higher wages, but the full product of his toil, the capturing of municipalities is but a preparatory step, to assist in organizing and uniting the Working Class economically and politically.

Such benefits or concessions as may be wrested from the capitalist class in the meantime, as conditions permit, are only temporary and unsatisfactory and can not be called Socialism. Socialism is a movement with a purpose: that purpose is the overthrow of the capitalist system. To demonstrate Socialism while the present system is in vogue is absolutely impossible. This can only be done when the capitalist class is shaken off and the workers take possession of both the machinery of government and the machinery of production. Socialism will then be industrial control or industrial government; consequently, in voting for the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party, whether for municipal, county, State or National offices, you are voting for the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of Socialism.

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TICKET:

MAYOR—Philip Veal.

CITY CLERK—Louis Brenneman.

TREASURER—Joseph Halliday.

ASSESSOR—Gustave Surber.

SUPERVISOR—John W. Jackson.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE—William Veal; Harry Bloemsa.

ALDERMEN—Fourth Ward: Benjamin Frankford; Fifth ward, Gustave Jenning; Sixth Ward, W. W. Cox.

But to return to the Sunday meeting—there was singing and prayer and then I arose, read the above cited attack on the S. L. P. and challenged Will or any one else present, to defend it in debate. As no debate could be arranged within the time I had at my disposal, the "revolutionists" came to me and asked that I address them on the principles of the S. L. P. This I did, taking two and one-half hours to discuss Marxian economics, revolutionary tactics and organization, vs. Populism and "Platform Socialism". At the close one of the younger members of the Local said to me: "I have taken no part in this fight, but I have very much desired to have some sort of educational work proceed. I have not read a single book which you say is really Socialist literature, because I have not been able to find out what is Socialist literature or how to get it."

This remarkable statement led me to look up the booklet published in "Social Ethics". My eyes first rested upon this statement regarding the educational work of the "American Socialist College," of Wichita:

"The college was founded in May, 1903, by men of strong intellect and noble purpose, President Thomas E. Will, Ph. D. a graduate and fellow of political economy at Harvard, lecturer, ex-president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, has rejected many of plutocracy's enticing offers that he may give his all to the cause of social progress. History, economics and Socialism receive at his hands the touch of a master. His keen insight and profound knowledge have won him a high place in economic thought."

"Rev. Granville Lowther, D. D., the vice president, is an eloquent orator, whose voice has long been heard on the side of right. Psychology and philosophy are the subjects Dr. Lowther handles."

Then I perused the list of books recommended, which contained the following:

"Why I Am A Socialist," G. Lowther; "Theology of Socialism," G. Lowther; "The Farmer and Socialism," Thos. E. Will; "The College Trust," Thos. E. Will; "Public Ownership of Railroads," John Davis; "Civilization Civilized," Thomas Maybelle; "Politics of the Nazarene," Jones. And so on through the more than thirty titles. In all that list there was but one book generally known as valuable to a serious student of Socialism, and that was McClure's "Socialism."

Needless to say, several members were added to the S. L. P. and that the future for a real educational Socialist movement in Wichita is bright.

Ignorance alone can slay the progress of the workers' revolution.

Frank Bohn.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the year.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....	2,008
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

The bourgeoisie has every reason to
fear the stupidity of the masses—so long
as they remain conservative; and their
intelligence—so soon as they become
revolutionary.

RELIGION, PILLS, AND THE REST OF THE PARAPHERNALIA.

If it is true that one understands a
foreign language better by first translating
it into the language that he knows, it
is equally true that one is all the better
able to understand his own language by
putting it in the corresponding foreign ex-
pression. The "foreign expression" in the
Manifesto issued by the Czar on the 3rd
instant is of this nature. It is pre-eminently
qualified to bring home to us in
America the meaning of words and terms
that are familiar to our ears.

Whenever the working-class of America
—with its finger upon the ulcerous im-
morality of the capitalist class, its con-
demnation practices against Labor, its ever
more brutal treatment of the work-
men, its reckless disregard of the work-
er's life—whenever, with its finger upon
these facts, the American working class
bestirs itself, forthwith a paraphernalia
of stereotyped invectives are hurled at
its head. The criminal capitalist class
pronounces its agencies "pillars of so-
ciety," and it denounces the workers as
foes of "Religion," disturbers of "law
and order," interferers with "prosperity",
smashers of "freedom". Many have come
to understand the terms for just what
they stand. The Czar of Russia, speak-
ing in Russian, a foreign language, has
just contributed his mite to render the terms
more generally understood.

There, in Russia, we have the most re-
actionary, brutal and blood-thirsty sys-
tem of government within the pale of
civilization. From top to bottom, morali-
ty is a by-word. Prosperity exists only
for the Grand-Ducal establishment; the
masses are held down in abject poverty.
Religion is used as a mask to cow the
people. Law and order mean the silence
of intimidation produced by the Cossacks'
knout. The pillars of society are a col-
ecre that is steeped in crime, and that up-
holds only raw-boned Wrong. Against
such a network of injustice the Russian
masses have risen, at last. And what is
the language held towards them by the
head and front of the offending? It is a
manifesto that strings out the words "re-
ligion," "pillars of society," "law and or-
der" and "prosperity"—identically, with
the exception of just one word, the "fam-
ily", as our own American Grand-Ducal
establishment is wont to do. The omis-
sion of the word "family" in the Czar's
manifesto must be a mere oversight. Peo-
ple whose family life is a myth, ever
charge the Labor Movement with a de-
sign to smash the family.

And so we have the whole parapher-
nalia trotted out and placed under the
lime light in self-exposure.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

The Rev. D. F. O'Sullivan of the Boston
Church of the Immaculate Conception
delivered, on February 19th, an ad-
dress to the delegates of the Boston Cen-
tral Labor Union. Father O'Sullivan's
theme was against Socialism. Speaking,
as he declared, "in the capacity of a
member of the Catholic Church and as
one of her priests", he pronounced So-
cialism to be "destructive of the family
and, consequently, of society itself", he
condemned Socialism as being "against
the rights of the workingman", and he
concluded that his Church, on the con-
trary, "is ever watchful in the interests
of the laboring man". In demonstration
of his last proposition, the father quoted
from the encyclical of Leo XIII. as follows:

"The sixth principle of the eight prin-
ciples in the encyclical of Leo XIII. is
that the wages or pay of the wage-earner
should be such as to support him honor-
ably and in frugal comfort. The wage-
earner must live and the only way he
can live is by the wages of his labor."

All of us, friends and honest foes alike,
are to be congratulated upon the cir-
cumstance that Father O'Sullivan did
not limit himself to the making of as-
sertions, but also quoted a fact—the fact
concerning the purpose of the sixth of
the eight principles in the encyclical of

Leo XIII. This frees us from the neces-
sity of chasing the Father's unsubstan-
tiated assertions regarding Socialism, and
enables us to judge of his own claim with
regard to his own Church's attitude to-
wards the workingman. Whatever we
may think of the Father's lack of men-
tal equipment to enable him to pass
judgment upon Socialism, we think it
safe to trust him as an accurate quot-
er of a fact, especially if that fact is taken
from the archives of his own Church or
organization. Accordingly, without trou-
bling ourselves to verify the correctness
of the Father's citation from Leo XIII.'s
encyclical, we assume it to be correctly
quoted. Taking it as quoted by Father
O'Sullivan it is proof conclusive that the
Catholic Hierarchy has only chains for
the Working Class.

What are "wages"—the only thing
that, according to the sixth of the eight
principles in the encyclical of Leo XIII.
the workingman is assigned to? Wages
are that part of the product of the
Working Class which the workingman is
allowed to retain. Wages are the price
of the merchandise labor-power, obtain-
able in the Labor-Market. Wages are
the expression of the exchange value
of the workingman, aggravated by the
law of supply and demand which lowers
his exchange value below the normal
point. The exchange value of stockings
is determined by the amount of labor-
power crystallized in stockings and so-
cially necessary for their reproduction.
So is the exchange value of labor-power
determined by the cost of living—the
amount of labor-power crystallized in
the goods that the workingman needs to
exist. But, as with stockings, so with la-
bor-power: the exchange value of an
article of merchandise is not its price.
Its price is affected by external cir-
cumstances that cause the amount to rise
and fall above and below its exchange
value. The supply of and the demand
for the article is the final factor that
determines prices. A supply of stockings
in excess of the demand lowers the price
of stockings. So with labor-power: a
supply of labor-power in excess of the
demand therefore lowers wages, the price
of labor. Improved machinery steadily
displaces labor; this is tantamount to
increasing the supply. Hence the earn-
ings of the workingman decline and must
decline, and do decline: the plunder upon
the worker is thus ever larger and larger.
Finally, it is obvious that none will work
for wages who is not compelled to work
for a plundering master. Wages, in
short, are the wage-slave's chain; the
size of his wages is the length of his
chain; the best of wages is but a longer
chain—and that is what the sixth prin-
ciple of the eight principles of the en-
cyclical of Leo XIII. would condemn the
working class to. That is all it has for
them—"wages", that is the wage slave's
chain.

Thanks are due to Father O'Sullivan
for emphasizing the fact before an audi-
ence of workingmen.

WHICH WILL IT BE?

Woe is in the house of the work-
ingman! His pittance is to be reduced some
more! Not less than three bills have
been introduced in the New York Legis-
lature to tax mortgages!

The workingman, whose pockets bulge
with mortgage deeds, seeing that his bank
account is so large that he can invest
large sums in mortgages, is now to be
plundered even of his interest on his
mortgages! A good chunk of this in-
terest is to be taxed away from him! His
hard-earned cash and savings are not to
do him all the good that they should! Just
at the moment when he expects some re-
turns for his self-denial, and looks forward
to the enjoyment of the returns on his in-
vestments in mort-
gages, the croil capitalist swoops down
upon him with laws to tax mortgages,
and thus proposes to pilfer from him
a part of what is due him!

Reformers showed to the workingman
with distinct statistical tables that his
taxes had been increased by the Spanish
War by \$100 a year. Seeing that his
average wages are about \$400, it fol-
lowed that he was left with only \$300
to get along with. The tax on bank
checks, on real estate transfers, on Pull-
man cars and on all the other things
that he daily indulges in, ate up about
one-fourth of his income; and now come
the threatened mortgage taxes to eat
up some more!

Woe is the worker! Will none ever
take pity upon him—except the reform-
ers who will now, as they did during
the Spanish War, appeal to him to join
them in the effort to relieve HIS bur-
den of taxation!

Joy is in the house of the work-
ingman! His chance has come to do some-
thing for himself (1)!

The reformers have succeeded in intro-
ducing no less than three bills in the
New York Legislature to tax mortgages!

Mortgages are held by the bloated
capitalists. They are the means to suck
up the people's blood. The bloated cap-
italist watches his chances. Another's
straits are his opportunity. He is ready
to "give relief" with a loan—a mort-
gage—in that way he gets his clutches
on a small property-holder, and

usually sucks up into his own pockets all
the wealth of the nation. Mortgages
are so many tentacles of the octopus.
In that way the middle class is ruined.
The middle class is a working class.
(Did anyone say that the middle class
is as vicious a floccer of the work-
ingman as the octopus himself, and that
what the middle class objects to is not
to fleecing, seeing that itself fleeces the
worker, but to its being fleeced by a
bigger plunderer? Did anyone whisper
that—"Hush, don't 'filing mud'!") Down
with the octopus! Let the taxes be
piled upon him!

Joy to the worker! He now has the
opportunity to give the octopus a crack
in the face by joining the demand for
good round taxes on the monster's mort-
gages!

Which of the two songs will it be?
Possibly both in different parts of the
State.

TELL-TALE.

One can not turn but he will find the
evidence of how little the Working Class
counts in the estimation of the Capital-
ist Class. When the latter speak of the
"nation", they mean the ruling, the cap-
italist portion of the nation; when they
speak of the "people", they have in mind
only the plundering portion of the popu-
lation. It has gone so far that when
they address "you", they are addressing,
and can not possibly be addressing any but
the class of the contributors of Labor's
product. A striking and latest illus-
tration is furnished by the flaming ad-
vertisement of a certain magazine arti-
cle that is just appearing in all the cap-
italist dailies. The article advertised is
entitled "New Methods of Office Work".
The advertisement in question has this
passage:

"How the machine is ousting the ex-
pert and the armies of clerks in modern
office work: YOU may save money and
time and gain efficiency by reading the
article... YOU will make a good in-
vestment of your quarter of a dollar,
anyhow."

Who can the "you" be? Could they
be the 254,880 bookkeepers of the land,
or the 630,127 clerks and copyists, or the
893,007 of both together? Can the "you" be
this "army of clerks" that is being
ousted? Can it be they who are recom-
mended to invest a quarter of a dol-
lar in the magazine as "a good invest-
ment" whereby to "gain efficiency"? Can
it be them the advertisement addresses
in the gladsome note that it strikes? Ob-
viously not. To convey to this army
that is being "ousted" the information
of their doom—such is not, can not be
the purpose of a capitalist concern. Such
information, addressed to such a class,
only proceeds from Socialist sources, and
then it is called "inflammatory", "un-Amer-
ican", "atheistic", "subversive of law and
order", etc. Such information, addressed
to the victims of the privately owned
machine means enlightenment to them;
it is a summons to join the ranks of the
Socialist Labor Party, and place the
machine in the hands of the workers
and out the hands of the shirkers.

Of course, the advertisement is ad-
dressed not to the victims of the ma-
chine, but to those who profit and will
profit by it. Of course, the "you" are
not the army of clerks ousted and to be
ousted, but the small number of capital-
ists who are doing the ousting. Of
course, the "you" are not the Working
Class but the Capitalist Class. That such
a call should appear in the public press,
the press supported mainly by Working
Class readers, is a fact of vast signifi-
cance. It tells how absolutely the Cap-
italist Class ignores the Working Class
as a factor in the nation.

In the days of old Rome's system of
slavery, the slave was thought so little
of that, as the pictures dug out from
the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum
attest, he was allowed to be present at
the most intimate transactions of his
masters. It mattered not what he or she
saw or heard. She or he did not count.
We are "there". The advertisers in
question care not how openly they an-
nounce the schemes by which they profit
and at whose expense the profit is done.
It matters not whether the Working
Class hears the schemes or sees them.
The Working Class is not expected to
understand them. The Working Class
does not count.

Deep and wide has the cleft grown be-
tween the Working Class and the Cap-
italist Class.

In a recent address, Vice-President
Bope, of the Carnegie Steel Company,
stated that the freight traffic of Pitts-
burgh in the year 1902 was \$8,000,000
tons, which, he said was greater than the
combined tonnage of Boston, New York,
Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago, and
greater than the aggregate tonnage of
New York, Liverpool and Hong Kong.
These figures illustrate the vast steel
and iron manufacture concentrated in
the Pittsburgh district. They show once
more the trend of modern industry.

The inauguration is over and the cap-
italist class still lives!

THE ARTFUL DODGER

"The New Yorker Worker" of last
February 26 feels driven (or shall we
say, lashed?) to answer the charge that
it is a privately owned concern and,
consequently, beyond the control of its
party, the so-called Socialist, alias So-
cial Democratic, alias Public Ownership
party. It says the question is "one of
interest to the readers"—decidedly so,
and also to the whole Socialist Move-
ment, which the owners of "The New
Yorker Worker", the New Yorker
Volkszeitung Corporation, seek to ex-
ploit. Of how deep an interest the
question is becoming may be judged
by the way in which "The New Yorker
Worker" "answers" (read, dodges) the
question.

It says: "The publishing associations
are composed of party members only."
—This is dodge No. 1. In the first
place, it will be noticed that the New
Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation care-
fully keeps the names of its stockhold-
ers a secret. If there is any strength
in the claim that they are all members
of the party, why not publish their
names, and state of what Assembly
District they are members? In the sec-
ond place, the statement, even if true
as far as it goes, belongs to the cate-
gory of that worst sort of lies which
consist in being half truths, in suppress-
ing the other half, and thereby in in-
sinuating a falsehood. The portion of
the truth suppressed in this case is that,
the very law under which the paper
claims it is forced to work, prevents
an incorporated association from ex-
pelling a stockholder if he changes his
political convictions. The corporation
may refuse to admit any but party
members, but once admitted they can-
not be put out for having become Dem-
ocrats or what not. During the de-
bates in the Corporation that preceded
the Kangaroo revolt, it was non-party
members—Schwab, Filby, Hoffman,
Grunzig, etc., etc.—who led in the as-
sault on the Party. They had all been
once in the Party, but had since be-
come rabid anti-Socialists. Under the
law, the paper is owned and controlled
from top to bottom by a set of men
who may all be expelled from the party,
but whom the corporation can not ex-
pel. Thus these privately owned pa-
pers may acquire a great power, given
to them by the membership at large,
and at any time the corporations can
turn that power against the party, with-
out the party's being able to say boo;
thus these self-appointed corporations
arrogate to themselves the power of
picking out from the party the few
whom they consider good enough to
run things; thus these self-appointed
corporations hold towards the party
membership the insulting attitude of
saying: "You are good enough to be
in the party, but not good enough to
be in our self-appointed circle of mas-
ters"—All of which has been charged
before, and is now dodged again.

It says: "Any profits which may be
made (which practically never happens)
must be devoted to propaganda"—This
is dodge No. 2. Capitalist concerns are
often limited by their charter to a cer-
tain amount of profit. How do they get
around that? They lavish their ex-
cess of profits of their employees
(stockholders or their relatives) and
thus the excess, in the approved lan-
guage of these capitalist concerns echoed
by the "New Yorker Worker" in its
answer, "practically never happens." And
thus a Corporation that claims to be
Socialist, accordingly, the controller of
the organ of a truly democratic body,
audits its own books and autocratically
declares that it has made "practically
no profits" and expects MEN to accept
the dictum—All of which has been
charged before, and is now dodged,
again.

It says: "The editor must be a party
member and is directly responsible to
the party"—This is dodge No. 3. The
party may repudiate the Editor, but the
corporation can keep him, as it will
surely do and has done before, just
as soon as its business, or "practically
no profits" demand the move, and the
party has no power to stop him. It
has created a weapon which it has left
in private hands, and that weapon can
any time turn against it—All of which
has been charged before, and is now
dodged, again.

It says: "The paper's deficits are
covered by donations from the party
or its members"—This is dodge No. 4.
In its issue of last January 15, "The
New Yorker Worker" had a full page
advertisement of a capitalist fly-paper
concern headed by the flaming and ly-
ing head-line: "The Protection of One
Million Families." And in that same
issue the paper editorially observes in
attempting to justify the speculation of
that fly-paper advertisement: "Condi-
tions prevailing under capitalism make
it almost impossible for a paper to exist
without depending on the income from
advertisements." A paper that is es-
sentially run for the private benefit of
its owners needs advertisements; a bona
fide Socialist paper is above that. It

lives upon the membership of the party.
Such a bona fide paper never needs to
shelter itself behind the pretence of
"conditions prevailing under capitalism."
Its membership, being its owners, will
keep it free from depending upon cap-
italist swindle advertisements, and thus
put its head under the capitalist yoke.
A bona fide paper of Socialism does
not preach "material interests" out of
one corner of its mouth and forget all
about it at the other corner. It, conse-
quently, will never place the material
interests of its own existence depend-
ent upon capitalist advertisements, and
thereby be forced to trim its language
in such way as not to give offence to
its capitalist patrons (bribers?).—All
of which has been charged before, and
is now dodged, again.

It says: "The membership of the
party has power to control and disci-
pline the editor"—This is dodge No. 5.
The only instance we know of when an
editor of "The New Yorker Worker's"
party was disciplined was the in-
stance seen two years ago in this city.
Several members of that party set up an
independent English paper—"The So-
cialist and Trades Union Review"—in
which they declared expressly that the
reason for so doing was that "The
Worker suppressed and mutilated party
news." The New Yorker Volkszeitung
Corporation promptly disciplined the
concern by stamping it out of exist-
ence.—All of which has been charged
before, and is now dodged, again.

Finally, it says: "This form of own-
ership (private incorporation) is neces-
sary, because we have to work under
capitalist laws, an incorporated body is
needed to prevent the possibility of
control by the individuals engaged in
the office, and it is not advisable for the
party as such to incorporate"—This is
a whole cluster of dodges:

Dodge No. 6 is the claim that "an
incorporated body is needed to prevent
the possibility of control by individuals
engaged in the office." It is the same
dodge that has been advanced before
by the runaway Berlin embezzler in the
Corporation. It carefully avoids to ex-
plain how the individuals employed in
an office of a concern owned by an
unincorporated association can "con-
trol" it. The insinuation that that is
possible is false.

Dodge No. 7 is an elegant one. It
pretends that, in order to "prevent the
possibility of control by individuals en-
gaged in the office"—in order to prevent
such a "possibility"—the whole concern
must be put from the start into the
private ownership of a self-elected
clique! In order to prevent an imagi-
nary, fictitious possibility of control a
concern must be put forthwith under
—what? under private control and
ownership! And these are the people
who make light of the "possibility" of
the members of a corporation that own
a paper changing their political views
and turning the paper against the party!

Dodge No. 8 is the insinuation that
either the paper must be incorporated
or the party must be incorporated. Not
true. The Socialist Labor Party is not
incorporated, nor is its press. The un-
incorporated S. L. P. owns The People
and can do with it what it pleases,
and when "individuals engaged in the
office" tried their monkey shines a few
years ago the Party gave them short
shriff.

Dodge No. 9 is that the "New Yorker
Worker" is silent upon the fact that
the party press of Germany, also a coun-
try under "capitalist conditions", is the
party's property.

But this is not all. The most "con-
vincing" of the arguments "The New
Yorker Worker" is silent upon. It
dares not put it in English, or, rather,
the Volkszeitung Corporation orders it
not to publish it. That argument is left
for German consumption; that argu-
ment only appears in the columns of
the Volkszeitung. We have before now
translated the argument in these col-
umns literally from the Volkszeitung's
columns. It is this: The press of the
American Socialist Movement can not
be trusted in American hands. As, on a
later occasion the Volkszeitung said:
"The Irish (meaning, of course, the
English speaking element) are corrupt
to their marrow", the Corporation
wishes to keep the press in its own
hands. It can thus boss things to its
heart's content—and absorb the swag
alone.

All of which is of deep interest to the
Socialist Movement of America. It de-
serves all the space given it above.
There is not a dodge or an "argument"
triturated above but it will be well
for the rank and file of the Socialist
Movement to keep in mind, and guard
against. It goes to their freedom.

The man who is charged with a crime,
but believes himself guiltless, tells a
straightforward story; the man who
knows himself guilty doubles, winds,
prevaricates, dodges—lies.

Watch the label on your paper. That
will tell you when your subscription ex-
pires. First number indicates the month,
second, the day, third the year.

FIGHTING LABOR

THE A. F. OF L. AT ITS WORK OF
SCABBERY.

Initiation to the Cloakmakers Union
Raised to Keep Out Men—As the Men
Refuse to Pay the Higher Dues, they
Are Hounded Out of the Shop—A
Case to Be Noted, Remembered and
Made the Basis for Action.

The latest instance of the Working
Class-disrupting nature of the A. F. of
L. and of the organization's being a con-
spiracy against the workingman's in-
terests has just come to light. The victims
in this instance were Sigmund Allen, Louis
Klinger and Henry Herman, members of
Amalgamated Ladies Garment Workers
Alliance (Cloakmakers), Socialist Trade
and Labor Alliance.

About four weeks ago—Feb. 9, to be
exact—these three workmen applied
for jobs at the factory of D. J. Levett
and Co., cloak manufacturers, No. 20
West 19th street and were put to work.
A few hours after they had commenced
their labor, Walking Delegate Grossman,
of the A. F. of L. Cloakmakers' Union,
appeared upon the scene and asked to see
their union cards. The men produced
their S. T. & L. A. cards which Gross-
man refused to recognize. The walking
delegate demanded of the head of the
firm that he discharge the S. T. & L. A.
men. The demand was complied with.
The three discharged men then applied
at various factories for positions but
were unsuccessful.

Last week they went to the shop of
Friedman Bros. & Co., 12th st. and Broad-
way, where a strike had just been settled.
The men were promised work, provided
they joined the A. F. of L. Cloakmakers
Union. Their search for work being un-
availing and having families to support,
Allen, Klinger and Herman agreed to join
the A. F. of L. union.

Last Saturday the three presented
themselves to Manager Schlesinger of
the A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Cloak-
makers to apply for membership. Schles-
inger demanded \$5 for a union card, al-
though the constitution declares that but
\$2 be charged. Allen, Klinger and Her-
man reminded Schlesinger of that fact,
whereupon the latter became angry at
the idea of such a little thing as the con-
stitution standing in the way of his pur-
pose. He told the three men that if his
terms didn't suit them they would have
to come before the Joint Board which
met one week later. The three protested
against waiting the week, declaring that
they had families to feed and that it
was an injustice to ask them to pay him
\$3 over the "union's" initiation fee.

Talk about justice ruled Schlesinger.
He became white with rage, and shouted:
"You are a pack of scabs!" He then or-
dered them out of his office, which is on
First avenue near Houston street. Not
moving fast enough to suit him, Schles-
inger forcibly ejected them.

Klinger, Allen and Herman returned
to the shop of Friedman Bros. & Co. on
Monday and reported what had taken
place in Schlesinger's office. The head
of the firm said he would fix it with the
walking delegate and told the three men
to start work.

When the walking delegate arrived he
told the firm that he had been in-
structed by Schlesinger to demand the
discharge of the three men and that he
(Schlesinger) would reimburse the firm
if it had to pay them for any unfinished
work. The walking delegate was asked
why cards had been refused Klinger, Al-
len and Herman while they had been fur-
nished to a number of other workers
in the shop, some of whom had worked
during the strike, at \$2 each. The walk-
ing delegate replied that Klinger, Allen
and Herman were Socialists and that
Socialists were not wanted in the A. F.
of L. Cloakmakers' Union. The three
men were thereupon discharged by the
firm.

On another page, will be found an ar-
ticle, "The Revolution in Russia", trans-
lated from the German of Rosa Luxem-
burg. It is especially commended to
those who falsely claim that the mem-
bers of the working class alone can never
inaugurate the Socialist Republic, "be-
cause they are not a majority of the
population, etc." The proletariat of Rus-
sia are far from being the largest half
of Russia, yet they are the revolution,
carrying the liberal, democratic and peo-
ple's classes along with them to victory.
The working class is a revolutionary
class. Its historic mission is to trans-
form Capitalism into Socialism. In this
task, it is sufficient unto itself. Of this,
the events in Russia leave no doubt.

Was it merely a coincidence—the
whitewashing of the Beef Trust and the
beginning of four years more of Roose-
velt?—or a prophecy of what is to come?

It is "Mr. Garfield now! Formerly it
was 'Trust Buster'. A man's deeds
certainly do determine the respect in
which he is held.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I don't see
the consistency of you Socialists ridicul-
ing the idea that Capital and Labor are
brothers.

UNCLE SAM—Probably because you
are not yet able to be consistent yourself.

B. J.—I don't think.

U. S.—You hit it that time.

B. J.—What do you mean?

U. S.—You don't think. You only think
you think.

B. J.—Oh, but I do think. Is it not
a fact that Capital and Labor are brothers?

U. S.—No, sir; not by a long shot.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—I mean what I say, and say
what I mean.

B. J.—You Socialists are such damned
sticklers.

U. S.—We Socialists insist on the cor-
rect use of terms.

B. J.—Indeed! Explain yourself.

U. S.—Certainly. You admit, do you
not, that Labor produces all wealth?

B. J.—To be sure. Any fool would con-
cede that.

U. S.—Not excepting yourself.

B. J.—No. But what of it?

U. S.—Just this, Jonathan. Labor is
the producer of all wealth. Capital is
a part of wealth.

B. J.—Granted.

U. S.—Capital being the product of
Labor, wherein is your consistency in
saying that it is the brother of its crea-
tor?

B. J.—The devil!

U. S.—No devil about it. You mi-
deheads who think you think are
solitarily unable to be consistent, you
being the creator of wealth it wou-
ld much better sense to say that Labor
the father of Capital. There would
some consistency in claiming such re-
lationship, but to say that the creator
the created are brothers is an absurdity.

B. J.—It does look that way.

U. S.—Consequently, the wherefore of
the whatness admonishes us to talk
United States; to think and keep think-
ing until we know we are thinking.

B. J.—I tumble.

U. S.—So, if there is any relationship
between Labor and Capital it cannot be
the relationship of brothers. It follows
that there would be more sense and
consistency in saying "the Earth is the
mother, Labor is the father and Capital
is the child."

B. J.—I begin to think.

U. S

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE IN ST. LOUIS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Considerable interest is being shown here in St. Louis, in the work of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, particularly since the issuance of the Chicago Manifesto which has tended to enliven discussions on future prospects and tactics. The St. Louis Butchers' Alliance, Local Alliance 2, S. T. & L. A. has made good progress since its formation here last fall, and at a special meeting last Sunday, twenty (20) new members were admitted. The conduct of the fairs in the meat industry has created a revolt against pure and simple among the workers and with the aid of our agitation and teaching they are moving at last in the right direction.

The Local will hold a mass meeting on Sunday, March 5, at Huragari Hall, Carr and Tenth streets at which we will have as speakers Comrades W. W. Cox and Philip Veal. At this it is hoped to obtain more members and do much good work in the way of spreading a knowledge of our principles.

St. Louis, Ill., Feb. 27. J. S.

A LITERARY PROTEST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Steadfast and others of that school of writers, are ridiculing the amateurs in literature, who do not earn their living by the use of the pen. Many of the Steadfast school of authors succeed, perhaps, in "making a living by literature," but they create no good permanent work. They are serving Mammon not art or literature. And that is the reason that but little good literary work is produced to-day.

Shame on the man who earns his living by literary drudgery! Better take a pick and shovel and go into the coal mine or go out West and set up bundles of wheat in the harvest field. Then at your study lamp in the eventide some worthy thoughts may come to you. Do some honorable, useful work, but do not make art and literature a drudgery in order that you may earn a living.

I would that there were no compensation at all for literary work, and then the vast quantity of insignificant, trashy work that is put forth in books and magazines would be very much diminished, and some good literary work would be accomplished, as was done in past ages. It is the ambition of the author of to-day to gratify the publishers and the public and thereby acquire a living competence. But in the days when Cicero, Homer, Dante, Milton, Byron and Hugo were famous, men of genius strove for an immortality of fame. Little marvel is it that in the present age there are no master poets and authors, excepting Tolstol, Bjornson, Ibsen and one or two others of Eastern Europe. In the first half of the past century England, France, Germany and America could boast of a score of eminent authors from Cuvier in the science to Goethe, Schiller, Byron and Hugo in poetry and Emerson in Philosophy and Webster in oratory.

Now we have a host of authors, none of whom are great, all like Simonides selling their brains to the highest bidder. Instead of deifying the amateurs, let them ask themselves if they really have brains enough to become famous, or if they really have any genuine desire for an immortality of fame. Cicero said that to live to future ages is the noblest ambition of man. Serve the art that shall abide, not the publishers.

A. M. Nesbit.
Bellaire, Ohio, Feb. 24.

THE DAILY PEOPLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I would urge all the comrades and readers of the Weekly People to subscribe for the Daily People. Why? Because some want more matter than they can get in the Weekly. Some kick because their stories were translated and printed in it. Many kick because they were discontinued. Some want a whole page to themselves, when they write and kick when their matter is cut down. Others say: "The Daily People is no good outside of New York", or a day's journey by rail from the office (who would be an editor of a working class paper?).

I am entitled to get mine a week after it is printed, in this northwest corner of the continent. I don't expect it will come by telegraph but know it must come by rail, and cheap enough when we consider it is less than one cent per copy delivered at your door, and say, comrades, I would rather forego one meal a week than not be posted on events as they happen, although I am a weak being and events are happening with greater rapidity as the movement grows and gains solid strength.

The Party Press, I understand, can turn out one hundred thousand copies per day if the comrades that can do so, only would spare less than one cent per day what a difference it would make

all round. What to the staff engaged on its production? What to the movement generally? Try it, comrades, and see the results.

Yours Fraternally,
R. Baker.
Vancouver, B. C., Feb. 20.
P. S. Robert Randall is the stuff!

TICKETS NOMINATED WHILE YOU WAIT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"The St. Louis Post Dispatch" of the 19th inst., contained the following:

"SOCIALISTS NAME CITY TICKET"

"Labor Party of Granite City Nominates J. S. Strandridge for Mayor."

"John Collins, of Chicago, organizer of the Socialist party ticket, addressed the Socialists of Granite City, Ill., Saturday afternoon, when many new members were taken into the organization. At the conclusion of the meeting the city ticket was named for the spring municipal election, to be known as the Socialist Labor Party ticket. John Melon was made permanent chairman and Charles Root was elected secretary. The ticket includes J. S. Strandridge, for mayor; Mert Wackerle, city marshal; William Richards, city clerk; Charles Ruth, city treasurer; Herman Mott, street commissioner and M. R. Sullivan, city attorney."

"William Harris, alderman for the first ward; John Nelson, Second, and Victor Hendricks, Fourth. The Third and Fifth wards will hold separate conventions for the nomination of candidates this week."

"Two committees were appointed by the chairman to conduct the campaign. The ward committee will consist of Stephen Ruth, E. J. Paulet, Bert Eckols, Samuel Mefford and Robert Lauffell. The city committee in general, James O'Rourke, William Harris, William Richards."

"Organizer Collins stated that 'Mother' Jones, of Colorado strike fame, would address the Socialists on March 4."

"A lengthy platform was read and adopted, which the officers were pledged to carry through in the event of a successful election."

"This is the first time that the Socialist Party has organized a ticket under the new title of the Socialist Labor Party, a name adopted after the elections of last November."

Fearing that the above was 'another attempt of the bogus Socialist party to appropriate our honored party name for its own despicable purposes, I went to Granite City yesterday to investigate this report. I saw the nominee for mayor. He is an alderman, elected on the Union Labor ticket last spring. He did not know what the name of the party was that nominated him. In speaking of his nomination he said that he had voted the "Socialist" party ticket last vote, with the exception of one candidate, a friend on the Democratic ticket. When the meeting, for the purpose of putting up the "Socialist" party ticket, was called last Saturday, he went there, thinking that all who voted the "Socialist" party ticket last fall would be entitled to take part in the nominations. But, Collins, who was there, would not allow any one but members of the organization to take part. Of these there were only about six present. Then this fellow, although he was not a member, asked Collins to allow him to make a motion. Collins agreed. He then moved, and it was carried, to suspend the order of business, in order to receive applications for membership. Every one in the house, except one, applied, and were admitted to membership. They proceeded with the nominations. He received the nomination for mayor. Although this was the only "Socialist" meeting the majority nominee had ever attended, he stated that he has been a Socialist for twenty years and did not know it until he heard Collins that night. That was the first Socialist speaker he had ever heard.

The nominee referred me to one Ruth, who is the chairman of the campaign committee. Ruth told me that the error was made by the reporter and that he had taken steps to correct it. He stated that he was an ex-member of the Socialist Labor Party, having belonged to Section Chicago in 1892 or 1902 (I am not sure which). He said the reason he left the party was because he is a trade unionist. As to the kind of unionism he thinks that all "Socialist" party men are industrialists, even Berger, Hayes, and such. They hold to the American Federation of Labor because their papers are official organs of the American Federation of Labor unions.

While I was talking to this man, another "Socialist" party man came up. He thought that this newspaper report was sent in to injure them with the

trades unionist. He said he had already been accused of working against the interest of the trades unionists. What he meant was that because the Socialist Labor Party is known as "a union wrecker," to confound them with it, would work injury to them. What is this, a comedy or a tragedy?

If all the "Socialist" party men are like those that I have come in touch with, I don't see what is to be gained by hobnobbing with them. The kind we have here don't know anything about tactics, and you cannot get any argument out of them. Such as the ex-S. L. P. whom I met yesterday will say that we differ only on tactics, and yet they have no idea of tactics.

G. A. Jenning.
East St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 22.

A SUGGESTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—As I am out of work, I have tackled canvassing for Bebel's Woman and Eugene Sue's stories. One or two men's work for the Labor News Press, in a big town like this, seems to me like a drop in the bucket. Such literature deserves a wide circulation. As I manage to make a little, as a make-shift, why not enlist the energies of others, who, like myself,

are alternating between enervating idleness and unprofitable work?

My idea is this: Let the agents of the Labor News Co. in the different cities insert advertisements for agents, solicitors or simply unemployed (may be including women) in the capitalist press of their respective cities. These could answer to the comrades inserting the ad. who could explain the proposition to them, nature of work, commission, etc. I think this would be a cheap way to get our bound volumes before the public. I am confident that one insertion would be sufficient to attract all the applicants necessary for a first attempt. A corresponding plan could be used with regards to the spread of The People; advertising for boys to sell it instead of for adults to solicit.

All the answers so far received from all over the state by the Washington State Correspondence Bureau, speak very highly of the standard so heroically maintained in the Weekly People. BEAR IN MIND that there are thousands of people who will consider our claims and read our literature if we only put it before them. The above is a good way to make it "popular."

I suppose this matter is strictly one for the business manager of the press to consider, still, I would like to see some other comrades' opinion on it.

Fraternally,
A. G. Dehly.
Seattle, Wash., Feb. 17.

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

(From February 18 issue of the Faribault, Minn., "The Referendum," organ of the so-called Socialist, alias "Public Ownership," alias Social Democratic party.)

St. Hillaire, Minn., Feb. 9, 1905.
E. B. Ford, Faribault, Minn.

Dear Sir.—It is my opinion that you want to know the truth in matters regarding the Socialist party and therefore send you the following truthful statement of facts relating to the matter concerning me which you set forth so prominently in your issue of February 4, 1905.

First. The St. Hillaire Socialist local has not in any form or manner been implicated with any other political party, and is not one of the two locals you refer to.

Second. Immediately upon receipt of my appointment I resigned as secretary for the local.

Third. I was the only Socialist that had anything to do with this appointment.

Fourth. As soon as the State organization found out my actions, steps were taken to have me expelled from the party.

Fifth. There are many reasons for me accepting this position, which, if given here would give you a more generous idea of the situation; but I have no desire to smother the way for any trespassers.

Sixth. The above is the plain truth, while the previous article contained criticism not founded on truth, many statements made being decidedly untruthful. And I therefore kindly ask you to give this article in your next issue as much prominence as your article pertaining to the same matter.

Yours truly,
Joel G. Winkjer.

It would have been just as well for Mr. Winkjer, and much better for J. E. Nash, S. M. Holman, Rogers & Co., members of the fake Socialist, alias Public Ownership, alias bourgeoisie, meaning the capitalist organization of Minnesota, if the foregoing letter of "truths" (?) had not been sent here for publication.

Notice one of Mr. Winkjer's statements: "Immediately upon receipt of my appointment" (as inspector on the food and dairy commission by Governor Johnson, as Democrat—Editor) "I resigned as secretary of the local."

Thus, his admission that he did hold a secretaryship of St. Hillaire, until a capitalist governor appointed him to an office.

Question: Did a capitalist governor appoint Mr. Winkjer because he is a Socialist, or because he is not a Socialist, and that there was some kind of a deal between the State committee of the Public Ownership party, Governor Johnson, Local St. Hillaire and Winkjer?

Mr. Winkjer's fourth "truth" is a rank untruth, for Nash, and Holman & Co. knew of the action of the fusion deal with the Democrats of St. Hillaire as early as September last, which I can prove as per report to me upon the best of authority from Minneapolis, and up to October 1, 1904, the said State committee had not removed Winkjer for being a Democrat, as they did Local Faribault and the Referendum for being Socialists, as I have a report from Nash of October 1, showing that at

that time Winkjer was secretary of Local St. Hillaire, and Governor Johnson did not appoint you until some time in January, 1905, did he, Mr. Winkjer? And if the State committee did not expel you from the party, when its members knew of your action of fusion and compromise months before Johnson appointed you to office, will you please tell us how you can make one truth and one lie harmonize, and make a third lie into a truth by saying that I did not state facts in The Referendum of February 4?

Would you have us believe that Local St. Hillaire, if its members are Socialists, retained you, a pronounced Democrat, as its secretary, and have us believe the whole local did not fuse with capitalism or a capitalist party?

Your letter of denial is pretty thin, Mr. Winkjer, and I gladly give it space in as prominent a place as I did my expose of Nash, Holman & Co., yourself, Local St. Hillaire, on February 4, 1905.

E. B. Ford.

BAZAAR AND FAIR.

Comrades:—The Entertainment Committee of Section New York, S. L. P., is again compelled to call upon you to aid in making the Grand Bazaar and Fair to be held in conjunction with the entertainment and ball on Sunday, March 19, a success. We need your co-operation for the gathering of articles which are auctioned off and otherwise disposed of, the proceeds to go towards aiding the Daily People.

It is hardly necessary to call your attention to the fact that now, more than ever, the Daily and Weekly People must be placed upon a firm paying basis; now more than ever the arms of the Party Press must be sustained and strengthened. The Socialist Labor Party will, in the near future, as evidenced by current events, be the centre around which will gravitate the revolutionary forces of Socialism, and the Daily and Weekly People will be their spokesman, being the only papers of labor and Socialism that have stood the test of the times.

Those of you who know this and realize what it means are called upon to help us make this affair the success that it merits. The Daily and Weekly People must proceed unhampered and unimpeded, that its voice, which is that of the S. L. P., may be more far-reaching than it is at the present time.

To the end that we may be able to accomplish this object, we call upon you to aid us! Every member is in a position to do something on this occasion. Your wife, your sweetheart, your sister, your friend is either handy with the needle to make a richly-embroidered pillow, or otherwise gifted to produce something. Get them to produce it.

Donate what you are able yourself. Sub-divisions of Section New York and adjacent Sections of the S. L. P., are called upon to push the sale of tickets to outsiders. The composition of the orchestra and its director (see advertisement elsewhere), is such that we may justly be proud of. Get your tickets and send on your presents to L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Get busy.
Entertainment Committee,
Adolph Grange, Secretary.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX

A. A. G. SCRANTON, PA.—Your questions have been referred to the National Executive Committee. The questions do not fall within the province of this office.

C. C. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Please call at office.

A. G. A. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—First, "Bourgeois" is a French word. Its root is found in other languages, English among them, to wit, "burg." The "bourgeois" is the resident within towns, in distinction from the agricultural residents. The burg residents had franchises from the feudal lords, and were the first to emerge from serfdom. They developed into the capitalist class. Hence the class came to have the appellation of "bourgeois." The matter is neatly sketched in the Eugene Sue story, "The Pilgrim's Shell." Read it.

Second, We are not ready to impute to Hearst the talent of a Gambetta. Hence hardly think he is trying to play Gambetta's role. It rather looks as if, with his millions, he were trying to play the role of Crassus with the Caesar revolutionists.

Third, What episode of French history?

F. W. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The fault lies with the discussers. Many ignored or missed the real point in Olive M. Johnson's letter that opened the debate "Bulgaria or Italy." For that she is not responsible. How correct the comrade's size-up of the lay of the land was, subsequent events showed and are showing. The letter was excellent. Many of the discussers wandered away from the point that she raised. That must have wiped out the letter from your mind. Read it over again.

Y. Y. NEW YORK.—Socialism is "politics" only in the sense that, at times as these, everything necessarily has a political twist. Socialism, however, means Working Class economics—no more and no less. It is due to the logic, inherent in Working Class economics, that Socialism is rendered so unpalatable to the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. That logic points to the destruction of capitalism. In the same way does the multiplication table. We may live to see the day when the multiplication table also is called "politics," and tabooed—Put on your war paint.

J. A. McCA, WILKINSBURG, PA.—The only source from which to get Mitchell's answer to Randall is Mitchell himself. We have written to Mitchell offering him the columns of The People for the answer that he made to Randall at the convention. Have not yet had an answer from him.

F. L. DEER CREEK, O. T.—You realize that "3,500,000 Socialist Labor Party votes, actually returned by the capitalist election inspectors," would mean at least double the votes cast—7,000,000. Do you realize what this, in turn, would mean? It would mean a population of fully 35,000,000 people inspired by S. L. P. principles. And what would this mean, say, at such a critical juncture as the late coal miners' strike, "when brazen capitalism was claiming master of the people"? It is the identical language of Pullman in 1894. This is Grand Duke's language. How is the Russian people answering? Are they less disarmed than the American?

A. R. RUTLAND, VT.—The membership of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? It is small, very small. But at this stage of the game it is not numbers that count, it is principle. Look at the 400,000 votes polled for the so-called Socialist party, and the small 34,000 polled by the Socialist Labor Party. And yet, which of the two is crumbling down on all sides?

A. W. VANCOUVER, B. C.—The Socialist Labor Party has no French organ. The Socialist paper of France is "Le Socialiste," 16 rue de la Corderie, Paris.

S. A. P. COLUMBUS, O.—Why, of course, the "reformer" hates the Socialist Labor Party vindictively. Were it not for the S. L. P., the "reformers" in the so-called Socialist party would long ago have dropped all pretence of Socialism.

M. F. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Russia is not a nation. It is a vast estate, run by a Grand-Ducal establishment.

T. B. C. VICTORIA, B. C.—Bryan's attempt was to establish by legislation in capitalist society a standard of value at variance with capitalist society itself. In this respect Bryanism and "pure and simpledom" are identical. "Pure and simpledom" aims at upholding capitalist society and a social system under which labor-power is a merchandise, and in the same breath it seeks to establish for this merchandise a standard of value and of price that are at variance with the underlying law of capitalism. The case is different with the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Both organizations seek

to overthrow capitalism. Both recognize that only by overthrowing it can the human being workingman cease to be merchandise, and only then can he enjoy the full fruit of his labors. Organizations that strive for such a goal can not be said to stand in the Bryan (or the "pure and simple") boot when they strike. Strikes under such circumstances are revolutionary rumblings. For one thing, they act as temporary breakwaters to prevent the capitalist from riding over the workers as roughshod as he would. For another, they would compel the capitalist to throw "tubs at the whale"—which would keep on advancing. Accordingly the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. do not "hold up illusions to the workers."

Next question next week.

C. S. BUFFALO, N. Y.—All such questions are questions of might, of power. If the intelligent men in the rank and file are numerous enough to down the fakir they can resist successfully all such bogus assessments. If, however, the fakir has the majority under thumb, the assessment can not be escaped.

D. E. NEW YORK.—We don't bother about trifles. There is no bad thing but does some little good. The question is not whether here and there the "borers from within only" have done some good. The question is whether "boring from within only" has not done overwhelming mischief.

J. C. W. B. WICHITA, KANS.—Your seventh question answers all the previous six, along with the seventh itself. If Selig Schubert, alias Busch, says, as you report him in that seventh question, that he "will be the central figure around which the Socialist Movement will revolve"—that should be enough. It answers all the questions to perfection.

W. J. BISBEE, ARIZ.—If Mr. Malory, the Editor of the "Arizona Socialist" (so-called Socialist party organ) is of the opinion that Marx was wrong when he said that the emancipation of the Working Class must be brought about by the Working Class itself, the gentleman should be induced to say so frankly in his paper. There is not one "intellectual" in his party, who does not share his views. But none dares print it. They are all in for "catching fish"; and they want to catch 'em acomin' and again!—All the matter received.

C. McK. ROXBURY, MASS.—There is no mistake in that passage of Ebel's article on Trades Unions. Hunt by a copy of "The Federationist," the organ of the A. F. of L., for September, 1904. You will there find on page 731 a diagram giving a pictorial representation of the development of the A. F. of L. It there dates its inception from the year 1881. All that happened in 1885 or 1886 was that the name was changed from Federated Unions to American Federation of Labor. Your remarks are welcome, all the same. The passage can be clarified in the article by a footnote or some other way.

W. O. NEW YORK.—The Socialist Labor Party "hounds" no one. A member may have done wrong and fallen by the way. If he is a strong man, he will show it by turning over a new leaf, and straightening up, and none more willingly than the S. L. P. will give him a helping hand to redeem himself. But if he is a weak man he will seek to hide his past fault by aggravating the offense. The usual way with these people is to turn themselves into colporteurs of slander against the Party. In such cases, as often as the barking cur draws near he deserves and gets a kick. That's all that happened the Boston worthy.

W. W. C. SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The document was acknowledged in Weekly of February 25 under "Matter Received." Correspondents are requested to keep their eyes on that part of the Letter Box. It will save much trouble in this office. The matter appears in this issue.

O. A. C. BUFFALO, N. Y.—There are no two commodities or articles of merchandise imaginable, between which some sort of difference could not be found. To bring that into primary relief would be to subordinate their most important feature—the feature of being the depositories of exchange value for sale. This would be a serious error. It applies to the commodity or merchandise labor-power. The special features—and they are of deep and far-reaching importance—attached to the commodity or merchandise labor-power, can be given much greater effect by grafting them upon that feature of the article that, under capitalism, makes it kin with cattle, cuspidores, leather, pork-chops, and all other articles of merchandise or commodities,—to wit, the feature of being depositories of exchange value for sale.

P. K. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—"Is the cost of reproduction the law of

value?" This question is loosely put. We are not certain what it means exactly. Shall take a chance at an answer. The law of exchange value is the economic law that establishes that which all articles of merchandise have in common, and the quantity thereof which is the equivalent of each in all the others. That which all articles of merchandise have in common is labor-power, crystallized in their production. The quantity of labor-power, crystallized in each and socially necessary for its reproduction, determines their relative values. Accordingly, the law of exchange-value teaches that the normal exchange of one commodity for another depends upon the quantity of labor-power socially necessary for its reproduction. A certain quantity of shoes is normally exchangeable with that quantity of hats that has the same amount of labor-power crystallized in it and necessary for its reproduction that is crystallized in and is necessary for the reproduction of the said quantity of shoes. The word "cost", however, may mean "price", and price is ultimately governed, not by exchange value, but by the perturbing elements of the market, which at times raise the price far above the exchange value, and other times knock it down below. Cost, meaning price, of reproduction does not determine value, meaning exchange-value.—Is your question unravelled?

G. D. W. SEATTLE, WASH.—You wonder? You don't mean to say you wonder that the privately owned press of the so-called Socialist party, alias any old thing, did not publish Randall's speech? You wonder why? You, innocent! They would not dare! They are not there to clarify the working class, least of all, if by doing so they lose the patronage of the labor fakirs.

"WAGE WORKERS EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE," PITTSBURG, PA.—All the dates are taken.

E. C. PERKINSVILLE, VT.—"What is the nature of the Kangaroo Social Democrats Cooperative Fellowship?" The question is indistinct.

If by their "co-operative" you mean their incorporated papers, the matter was fully explained in the article "Artful Dodger," which you will find in this Weekly.

If by "fellowship" you mean the Heron fund, it is this: The Rev. Speculator in Rich Wives created a fund—"deserving young men" of his Social Democratic party. He kept control of the fund, and thus his fellowships moved as he pulled the strings.

S. J. ST. PAUL, MINN.—The English edition of Marx' "Capital" contains all that he published under that title. What Marx' real purposes were as to further publications is doubtful. What has appeared since his death was mainly the result of a pious feeling to Marx's memory. Shall look into the other matters.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS EVERYWHERE. AUSTRALIA, CANADA, GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND INCLUDED.—Kindly forward to this office preambles and constitutions of your respective Trades Unions. As complete a set as possible is desired at this office. Since last week, when receipt of forty-five was acknowledged, twelve more have come in, making a total of fifty-seven. There are still many wanting.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN. Contributors to the discussion on the Chicago Manifesto who have once had the floor and ask it again, will have to wait until those who have not yet had the floor are through. Non-party members as well as party members are entitled to the floor.

TO CONTRIBUTORS ON CHICAGO MANIFESTO.—Received but not yet published in Daily People: L. V. L., New York; J. M. R., Toronto, Canada; A. M., Rochester, N. Y.; F. L., San Antonio, Tex.; G. H. R., Lampasas, Tex.; J. M. F., Duquoin, Ill.; W. P. E., Los Angeles, Cal.

G. T. TRENTON, N. J.; L. O. BLANCHARDVILLE, WIS.; W. A. H., TACOMA, WASH.; O. F. COLUMBUS, O.; B. R. BUFFALO, N. Y.; H. J. B., FLORENCE, COLO.; M. W., MILWAUKEE, WIS.; J. S. SORRENDELE, O.; W. D. H., DENVER, COLO.; X. DETROIT, MICH.; R. B. VANCOUVER, B. C.; V. L. T., PARIS, FRANCE; S. B., SEATTLE, WASH.; N. M. H., JERSEY CITY; J. S., NEW YORK; E. F. L., MT. CARMEL, ILL.; W. F. E., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.; M. E. K., CHICAGO, ILL.—Matter received.

ATTENTION!

Wage workers residing in Greater New York and vicinity, desiring information about the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance can get same by writing to the organizer of D. A. 49, L. M. Wieder, 2-4 New Reade street, New York City.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 24 New Read street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.
National Secretary, P. O. Box 330, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.
24 New Read street, New York City (The Party's literary agency).
Notice: For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the above committee held on Friday, March 3, 1905, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Read street, with Comrade Gilhaus in the chair. Present: Gilhaus, Kinnally, Walsh, Teichlauf, Anderson, Crawford, Olsen, Lechner and Eck. Absent, with excuse: Hossack and Katz; without excuse: Burke, Bahnsen and Donahue. In the absence of the secretary, William Teichlauf was elected secretary pro tem.

Financial report for week ending February 18 showed receipts \$48.71; expenditures \$21.11; for week ending February 25, receipts \$110.99; expenditures \$63.88.

Three applications for membership-at-large received and accepted: Edw. L. McCoy of Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, L. A. Tewksbury and Anna Tewksbury of Wichita, Kans.

Correspondence: From Virginia S. E. C. on the election of Ed Schade to membership on the N. E. C., with remittance for N. A. P. matter. Letter reviews development in Social Democratic party and shows membership to be on the alert for taking advantage of favorable situation. From Belleville, Ill., making request for names and addresses to Daily and Weekly People readers, same to be utilized in connection with agitation meetings to be held; party outlook very favorable. From Olive M. Johnson, touching on the situation in California. From secretary of California State Committee with information that request of Section Chicago for a re-hearing of Piccon's case was refused; also stating some of the difficulties to be overcome in getting on the ballot at the coming election. From Philadelphia on election of State Committee. From Meiko Meyer, dwelling on the discussion in The People and general situation, and promising to send in report of a debate held between a Reverend and Kinnally and himself. From Wichita, Kans., showing the Kansas "Socialist" party to be an asylum for all sorts of middle class reformers and due to be controlled by that element, it is beyond hope of ever becoming a revolutionary organization. From other sources, same city, reporting upon the formation of a Marxian League by twenty former members of the "Socialist" party, and showing situation to be very favorable for the Socialist Labor Party. From Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation, reviewing events of the past year which had culminated in the present federation and expressing the hope of becoming in the near future a strong link in the party. The request that the communication be published in The People was granted. From Secretary Massachusetts State Committee remitting for the stamps. From Committee S. E. C. reporting on the taking up of the correspondence bureau plan and showing the necessity for an organizer in the field. From Comrade Bohn several communications were received, reporting on his tour through Kansas and Colorado. At Wichita, at the delight of the revolutionary element present, he administered a thorough thrashing to Thomas E. Will, who the previous day delivered a tirade against the Socialist Labor Party. At Denver he addressed the local of the "Socialist" party, upon whom he made a good impression. At the close of the meeting they expressed the desire to handle Socialist Labor Party literature, of which they can dispose \$35 to \$40 worth a month. Several locals of the Western Federation of Miners were addressed, by whom he was cordially received and was given the assurance that others will be glad to hear him. Upon the whole, the situation is very promising for the Socialist Labor Party.

Applications for charters were received from Davenport, Iowa and Reno, Nevada. Both granted.

Sections East St. Louis, Ill., Winona, Minn., and Hungarian Branch of San Francisco reported election of officers.

The following made remittances on N. A. P. matter: Indiana S. E. C.; Missouri S. E. C.; Butte, Mont.; Baltimore, Md.; and East St. Louis, Ill.

Adjournment.

Wm. Teichlauf, Sec. pro tem.

A CALL FOR NOMINATIONS.

To the Section of the Socialist Labor Party, Greeting:

In accordance with Article V, Section 14, of the Party constitution, you are hereby called upon to make nominations for one delegate to represent the Socialist Labor Party at the annual National Convention of the Socialist

Trade & Labor Alliance, which is to be held on the first Monday in June (June 3), at the city of Lynn, Massachusetts.

Since the recently issued Chicago Manifesto will engage the attention of that convention, it is important that the Socialist Labor Party be ably represented.

The nominations will close on Friday, March 24, 1905, on or before which date all nominations must be in the hands of the undersigned.

For the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party,
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Meeting of February 20, at Section Boston's headquarters, People's Institute, 1140 Tremont street, Engelhardt in chair. Roll call showed Schugel, Dunne, Murphy, Engelhardt, Mortenson, Fingstad, and Sweeney present. Burnham absent; excused. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence: From Section Fall River, ordering stamps. From H. C. Hoss of Boston, declining nomination as Treasurer of committee. From Section Pittsfield, forwarding due stamps. From J. Farrell of Lowell, requesting that W. H. Carroll address a meeting on Sunday, March 19, in Lowell. From Section Boston and from Somerville, voting for Treasurer candidate. From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, giving statement upon N. A. P. matter, Amsterdam stamps and 1904 National Campaign sub. lists. From secretary of Local Alliance 152, New Bedford, on agitation matters. From secretary Connecticut State Executive Committee, on the three State organizer plan.

Auditing committee of 1904, as ordered at meeting of Feb. 12, rendered an itemized report of the financial work of that year. Report accepted.

Agitation committee report on meeting arranged in Woburn.

Greater Boston Entertainment Committee make partial report of affair held and further plans in mind.

Voted that secretary write the National Secretary on the monies and funds remitted by the Sections to the General Committee for the Amsterdam Stamps, N. A. P. Matter and National Campaign sub. lists, and the amounts forwarded the N. E. C.

Adjournment followed.

John Sweeney, Secretary,
85 Temple st., Boston, Mass.

DISTRICT ALLIANCE 49, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE.

A regular meeting of District Alliance 49, S. T. & L. A. was held at Daily People building Feb. 10, John J. Kinnally chairman. August Gilhaus, vice-chairman. All officers present with exception of organizer and financial secretary, both excused. Ten new delegates seated, Frank Pearson, Axel Emil Pearson and Andrew Bahnsen, of the newly organized Building Trades alliance, were seated, but without vote, pending the arrival of their charters. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

The report of the organizer was read and action taken upon new business. First, that he attended a second meeting of Clerks, Salesmen and Agents Local Alliance, which admitted five new members and completed organization. Action, the General Secretary present, stated this Local received its charter as Trades Local Alliance 4. As such it was admitted and the delegates seated. Second, according to former arrangements he sent Comrade Gilhaus, Chalken and Schlossberg to speak at a mass meeting of the Amalgamated Garment Workers Local Alliance 412. Third, organized a Building Trades Local with 12 charter members, added next meeting 3 more; received a number of letters dealing with requests and information about this new Trade Local and answered the same. Application for charter of the Building Trades Local was favorably received and referred to the General Executive Board for action. Fourth, he recommended to insert in Sunday's issue of the Daily People a calendar of Local Alliances attached to District Alliance 49. This was requested by most all the Locals. The organizer was instructed to do insert. Fifth, received a letter in regards to an Elevator Operating Society. Will try to get them into the Alliance. Action indicated.

The treasurer, recording secretary and sergeant at arms, had nothing particular to report.

A communication was received from General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A., requesting District Alliance 49 to elect delegates and alternates to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. to be held in Lynn, Mass., on the first Monday in June, 1905, and report names and addresses not later than March 30 to the G. E. B. The organizer was instructed to ascertain if the Comrades De Leon, Scherer, Fylich and Francis, will accept the nomination. John J. Kinnally and Axel Emil Pearson accepted the nomination. It was decided to send names of nominees to the Locals of D. A. 49, to be voted upon.

Local reports and action taken thereon. Local Alliance 3, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Alliance, held two meetings

since last report, admitted three new members and had a lively discussion at their last lecture. Issued a manifesto to their fellow craftsmen. Local Alliance 140, Bronx Labor Union, held two lectures since Feb. 2, the first addressed by Com. R. Reinhold of Buffalo and the second by Com. R. Katz. Always adds some members to their union. Transferred three members to the new Building Trades Union. Local Alliance 141, Pioneer Cigar-makers Union, postponed their intended mass meeting to pass first on a leaflet addressed to the cigarmakers. Local Alliance 232, Eastern Districts Mixed Trade Local of Brooklyn, added three new members and issued two transfers to L. A. 274. Elected an Agitation Committee of three, H. Kober, Ivo Baldelli and F. Loehn, with full power to arrange a mass meeting near the Labor Lyceum Brooklyn. Will get names of Custom Tailors and try to organize the same and act in conjunction with Section Kings County, S. L. P. in regards to a painters union in Jamaica. Local Alliance 274, (Machinist Union) admitted three new members and received two transfers of L. A. 252. The new Building Trade Local submitted their first report and will hold in the near future a mass meeting for craftsmen of their trade. Section New York County, S. L. P. nothing particular to report in regards to the Alliance. Section Kings County S. L. P. reports discontent among machinists and also carpenters. Turned over to L. A. 252, for action. Local Alliance 4, Clerks, Salesmen and Agents Alliance, report mostly covered under organizer's report. Wants comrades employed in this line belong to other locals, mixed or otherwise, to join this Local. The same request came from the Building Trades Local. Both requests granted. Local Alliance 412, Amalgamated Garment Workers, reports that the present is their busy season and excuses the absentees.

It was recommended to Local Alliance 1563 to meet in Yorkville, around the 25th Assembly District, S. L. P.

Several locals wanted a Labor Bureau established. Motion made that one man take charge of this bureau to meet both ends, meaning thereby, the concentration of the special local bureaus. Amended that a labor bureau be established and the list be inserted in the Daily People. Amendment lost and motion carried.

Comrade S. Moskowitz volunteered to take charge of this labor bureau. Concurred in.

To find ways and means to improve the labor bureau, a committee of three were elected. The committee consists of Moskowitz, Ivo Baldelli and T. Haupt.

Another committee, Roth, Fisher and Stuckgold, were elected to simplify book-keeping in the separate Locals, in short, adopt forms similar to the S. L. P. Both committees to report at next meeting.

The auditing committee wants financial secretary present at their next meeting. Income for this night \$13.60. Expenses, \$15.

Adjournment followed. Secretary,

John Sweeney, Secretary,
85 Temple st., Boston, Mass.

BOHN DATES FOR COLORADO.

Delta, 10-12; Grand Junction, 12-15. Members and readers of the Weekly People take notice. Help to make Comrade Bohn's tour in this State successful in the fullest sense of the word.

Martin Harwitz,
Acting Secretary, S. E. C.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

In support of the agitation work of Comrade Bohn, the following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, March 4:

D. F. Heinrich, Jacksonville, Ill. \$ 1.00
M. Weinberger, New York (on 15c weekly pledge) .30

Miss C. Weinberger, New York (on 15c weekly pledge) .30
Jake Nill, Jerome, Ariz. 1.00

O. Olson, Point-No-Point, Wash. .30
F. Clark, New Brighton, N. Y. 1.00
W. Missinger, Cleveland, O. 2.00

D. Baer, New York .25
F. Metzger, Paducah, Ky. (for February and March) 1.00

23d A. D., New York .1.25
20th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00

Section Hartford, Conn. 15.00
Kalamazoo, Mich., A. E. Higgins, 50c.; A. Louwet, 50c.; H. Kober, 50c.; W. B. Kuehne, 50c.; I. Wolgin, 50c.; H. Zieres, 50c.; J. Billow, 25c.; P. Karl, 25c.; O. Galarneau, 25c.; Palmer, 25c.; H. Huber, 50c.; W. Hoppel, 50c.; M. Klein, 25c.; Sympathiser, 25c.; total. 5.50

M. L., New York. 1.00
Chas. Zolot, Peekskill, N. Y. .50

Total. \$ 31.60
Previously acknowledged. \$39.88

Grand Total. \$401.48

Note: In the last acknowledgments for this fund, the amount previously acknowledged was erroneously given as \$312.67 (the figure for the week ending with February 11); it should have been \$337.84, and that figure added to the \$326.60 received during the week ending with February 25th foots up the above \$369.88 given above.

Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec.

CORRESPONDENCE

WHO CAN ANSWER?

To the Daily and Weekly People.—We would like to find out through the columns of The People where the International Furnace and Heater Company is getting its work made. There is a strike on in Utica. It has been going on for over nine months. We want to know if they are getting their work made in Union shops. We belong to the — Union here. The president was asked if the work was made in a Union shop. He answered "no," but we believe the contrary. We are assessed for the benefit of the Utica strikers, but believe it folly to pay to help a strike that other Union men are aiding to break.

True Union Men.
Buffalo, N. Y., March 1.

GIVE THEIR OCCUPATIONS ALSO.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—The editorial "The Artful Dodger," in to-day's issue of the Daily People pleased me immensely. It was a delight to read the roast given to the private owners of a press advocating a collective ideal-Socialism. Nevertheless, I have a suggestion to make in connection therewith. Under Dodge No. 1, referring to the Volkszeitung Corporation stockholders, the editorial asks: "If there is any strength in the claim that they are members of the party, why not publish their names, and state of what Assembly District they are members?" I would add that they publish the occupations of their stockholders also. Such a list would certainly throw much light on the true character of the private ownership of the Volkszeitung Corporation.

A Former Member Who Did not Relish Affiliation with Bermuda Onions and Egyptian Potatoes.

Boston, Mass., March 1.

TAKE NOTICE!

Comrade William Bonstein, Box 256, Tacoma, Wash., intends, in the near future, to go on the road for the Socialist Labor Party, selling literature, securing subscribers for the Party press, propagating the principles of the Party in any shape and manner possible.

As a means to attract attention he will take along a stereopticon and in order to obtain a variety of striking illustrations he solicits the aid of the membership everywhere. If you have or if you run across a good picture, depicting social contrasts, the development of machinery, industrial conditions, processes of manufacture, in fact, any pictorial representation that will convey information to an audience on the Labor Question, you will confer a favor by sending it to Comrade Bonstein at the address given above.

Published by request.
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

IN AID OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS.

During the week ending Saturday, March 4, the following contributions were received for the above fund:

P. E. De Lec, Troy. \$ 5.00
W. Missinger, Cleveland, O. 2.00

Collected at factory of Prudential Tobacco Co., by members of the Progr. Rolled Cigarette makers Union. 6.75

S Schwartzman, New York. 1.00
Section Hartford, Conn. 5.00

Total. \$19.75
Previously acknowledged. \$3.42

Grand Total. \$308.17
Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY SUPPLIES.

Constitutions, a neat booklet with red-coated linen cover, containing besides the constitution the membership record and spaces for dues stamps, a record of transfers and the Party platform, per 100. \$2.00

Application cards, with exposition of Party principles same to be retained by the candidate and detachable application form, per 100. .40

Transfer cards, for use between Sections and, on reverse side, for use between subdivisions of a Section, per 100. .30

Delinquency blanks, which make easy the work of the Financial Secretary when notifying members in arrears, per 100. .30

Candidates' resignation blanks, provided for in Article XI, Section 4, of the Party constitution, per 100. .30

Rubber stamps (seal) made to order, each. .67

Orders for supplies must be accompanied by cash, Article XI, Section 17, of the constitution expressly forbidding the keeping of credit accounts. It should be noted that orders for organization supplies must be addressed to the undersigned and not, as is often the case, to the Labor News.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary,
2-6 New Read street, New York.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and sixty subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, March 4. The sections in the Western States are doing the most work for the Party press, and it is up to those in the Eastern States to wake up. The last week, Section Tacoma, Wash., bought twenty dollars worth of prepaid subscription cards. Every section should have a supply of postal cards. Sell them everywhere.

The issue of March 4, containing Robert Russell's answer to John Mitchell, was much in demand. About 2800 extra copies were sent to mine workers in different parts of the country. Then the supply ran out and no more orders could be filled. Comrades everywhere are again reminded that when an extra quantity of any issue is wanted, orders must reach this office on Tuesday preceding the Saturday of publication. Otherwise we may not be able to fill orders.

Comrade Fred Fellerman, of Hartford, Conn., sends in 8 subs; J. J. Ernst, St. Louis, Mo., 8; T. F. Dugan, Bisbee, Ariz., 6; Samuel Johnson, St. Paul, Minn., 6; J. Lutkenhaus, N. Y. City, 6; Harris A. Brandborg, Pasco, Wash., 6; G. A. Jennings, East St. Louis, Ill., 6; O. Haselgrove, Newport, Ky., 5. The Daily People, 3 months, \$1; 1 month, 40 cents. Try it.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Early in the week Comrade A. G. Dehly of Seattle, Wash., ordered 285 pamphlets assorted; Boston took 105 of the buzz-saw series; Detroit, Mich., ordered 1000 leaflets and 35 assorted pamphlets.

St. Louis took 16 of the Sue books; the Socialist Educational Club of Brooklyn bought two "Paris Commune," by Marx, and two "History of the Commune," by Lissagaray; Buffalo bought 2 "Paris Commune" and 10 "Communist Manifesto"; Comrade Jiskra of Milford, Mass., took 1 "Woman Under Socialism" and some other literature, assorted.

Braddock, Pa., bought 3 dozen emblem buttons. Sections will please take notice that the price of the emblem buttons will hereafter be the same as the price of the 5 cent pamphlets.

"Roberts' Rules of Order" was gotten in from the publishers during the week and the accumulated orders filled. Orders for it will now receive prompt attention.

A considerable number of books of all classes are now being ordered through the Labor News by comrades here and there. All comrades and sympathizers should note that we are glad to furnish any book they may want. The following suggestions are made in order to facilitate the handling of correspondence:

DONT—

Address letters intended for The People or Labor News Co. to any individual or employee connected with the institution.

DONT—

Make checks or money orders intended for the Daily People or Labor News Co. payable to individuals or employees.

DONT—

Mix up in one and the same letter, business pertaining to the National Executive Committee, editorial and business office of The People, the Labor News Co. and sundry other things.

Reason—We have no army of clerks to make extracts and distribute among the various offices; time is money and life is short. Each office wants its correspondence on file for future reference; but if you persist to cram all in one letter, only one can have the original.

Remedy—At least write on separate sheets of paper matters intended for each of the following:

N. E. C.
People Editorial office.
People Business office.
Labor News Literature Department.
Labor News Job Printing Department, and properly address each sheet.

DONT forget this.

S. T. & L. A. NOTES.

Detroit, March 1.—A number of workmen met at room No. 10 avenue Theatre building, Sunday night, and organized a mixed local alliance of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The officers chosen were Chairman, O. M. Held; recording secretary, A. C. Kline; financial secretary, O. Beldner; treasurer, William Hoag.

DATES OF ORGANIZER LOUIS BASKY
Cleveland, O., March 11 to 15; Detroit, Mich., March 16; Chicago, Ill., March 17-19; Milwaukee, Wis., March 19-21; St. Louis, Mo., March 22-23.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

HAGGERTY IN FRISCO.

(Continued from page 1)

heard several enlarge upon the scabby character of the pure and simple unions.

Mr. Haggerty, during the course of his speech said a couple of very cruel things, exceedingly amusing, however, to a Socialist Labor Party San Franciscan. Once he threw a hard shot at "long haired pedlars in phraseology." Evidently he had sized up, at a glance, the chairman of the evening, both as to his mental and physical proclivities, this same chairman has had no other stock-in-trade for about four months than to show "the fallacy of inalienable rights as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party." He declares that the workers have no rights, but the capitalists all rights, because they have the power. Before he introduced the speaker he even announced a lecture of his own on the subject. Mr. Haggerty spoke about the rights of the Working Class, and declared they have all the rights, and the capitalists have no rights. "The workers must take the rights which belong to them." Exactly as it is stated in the Socialist Labor Party platform. Mr. Chairman was moving uneasily, particularly as he noticed that The People's representative was taking notes. It was really very naughty of Mr. Haggerty to be so cruel and furnish so much amusement to the wicked Socialist Labor Party.

But to return to the real tenor of Mr. Haggerty's speech, what are the conclusions we can draw? The undeniable fact is that he talks like a De Leonite, a Socialist Labor Party man. Then, we ask, is he honest in it? There, of course, is the rub. It is at that question mark the whole Socialist Labor Party at the present time stands watching intently, not only in regard to this man, but to a good many more. To me it looks this way: Dishonesty may peddle phraseology; it may rave about conditions; it may get wildly radical at times; it may even storm about fakirs and traitors (when it is not obliged to prove it, a la V. L. Berger), but, to come right down to work, to show the workers what to do and, what is more, do it right, that is a mighty dangerous ground for dishonesty to tread on, as the fire with which it is then playing is not within safe limits; it has passed out of control.

We must acknowledge the truth: it was a Socialist Labor Party speech on a "Socialist" party platform. He flung the gauntlet at them; he ridiculed their whole position. He made fun of the notion of compensating the capitalists, and tore to pieces their whole accepted trades union policy—the boring from within; the leaving unions alone and only making Socialist voters; the being neutral on the economic field, and that at this time when the very most ardent exponent of these things, J. Mahlon Barnes, is taking his seat in the highest office that party can offer.

We also could not help wonder how Mr. Haggerty felt having "The Worker" and the "Social Democratic Herald," the most bitter opponents of his policy, sold in the audience and at the door.

Since the Manifesto came out, signed by Comrade Frank Bohn, in conjunction with Mr. Haggerty, et al., it has become a pet phrase with the "Socialists" in this town that the Socialist Labor Party has flip-flopped because

some time ago we branded these same people as untrue to the cause of labor. We will gladly leave it to any jury of any one hundred fair minded men who will read "What Means This Strike?" "Two Pages from Roman History," "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and other trades union literature issued by the Socialist Labor Party since the starting of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and then let them listen to the speech of Mr. Haggerty, if it is the Socialist Labor Party that has "flip-flopped," or if it is the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance that, by their undaunted position, have succeeded in convincing their most bitter opponents.

But, how about the "Socialist" party? We won't say that it has flip-flopped or turned somersaults, for it would not mean much; but it certainly looks like a very funny concern. "A house divided against itself" may be the most descriptive expression, and it is an old saying that such a house cannot stand. We believe this one has even passed the danger line.

On the other hand, the Socialist Labor Party stands undaunted because of the very solidity of its position. But the situation we are now facing will demand more skill and generalship than it took to pass all the dangerous reefs our little craft has passed since 1896. We may yet be at a loss to know whether we are at "Italy or Bulgaria," but in the meantime we are in America, and events are crowding upon us—events that we cannot too clearly understand nor too closely study.

Militant.

CLEVELAND'S COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Section Cleveland, Ohio, has arranged for a Grand Commemoration of the Paris Commune to take place at Germania Hall, street, Sunday, March 19, commencing at 3 p. m. Tickets in advance 25 cents a couple, at the door 50 cents. Tickets at advance sale price can be had from all comrades and at the office of the German party organ, 193 Columbus street, corner Seneca, third floor. The following programme will be rendered: Orchestra Boehm's Orchestra Song: "Arbeiter auf!"

Socialistische Liedertafel
English address Comrade Paul Dingey
Recitation Comrade Chas. Schaubert
Song: "Bet' und arbeit"

Socialistische Liedertafel
German address, Com. Richard Koepfel
Songs Schiller Quartette
"RABBLE!"

A Drama from Proletarian Life by Franz Siedersleben.

CAST:
Christian Wiesener, an old cooper
Richard Koepfel

Comrad, his little grandson
Master Leopold Haug
A Thief Ed. Hauener
A trampy journeyman Chas. Schaurer
Turnkey of the jail Leopold Haug
A Policeman Rud. Boehm
Police Inspector Geo. Blickensdorfer

Grand Tableau:
"THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE"

After the programme, grand ball.

NOTICE, BROOKLYN.
On and after March 1 all mail matter for Section Kings County, N. Y. Socialist Labor Party, must be addressed to E. F. Wegener, Organizer, 140 Maujer street, Brooklyn.

E. F. Wegener.

POSTPONED.

To the State Committees, Organizers of Sections and Members of the S. L. P.: On account of the few returns made on N. A. P. matter, the committee in charge decided to postpone the call for returns from Feb. 15, to April 15, and the final date from March 1 to May 1, 1905.

For the N. A. P. Committee,
Secretary.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m.—at 2 New Read street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Read street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 285 1/2 South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and a free reading room 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, S. L. P. meet every 2nd and 4th Monday at Exchange Hall corner of Sangamon and Monroe street.

All communications to Section Toronto to be sent to C. A. V. Kemp, organizer Section Toronto, Bracondale P. O. Ont., Canada.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets